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NARRATIVE

OF THE

DEPORTATION TO CAYENNE,

OF

BARTHÉLEMY, PICHEGRU,

&c. &c.

Price 4s.

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NARRATIVE

OF THE

DEPORTATION TO CAYENNE,

OF

BARTHÉLEMY, PICHEGRU, WILLOT, MARBOIS, LA RUE, RAMEL, &c. &c.

IN CONSEQUENCE OF

THE REVOLUTION OF THE 18TH FRUCTIDOR, (SEPTEMBER 4, 1797.)

CONTAINING

A VARIETY OF IMPORTANT FACTS RELATIVE TO THAT REVOLUTION, AND TO THE VOYAGE, RESIDENCE AND ESCAPE OF BARTHÉLEMY, PICHEGRU, &c. &c.

FROM THE FRENCH OF
GENERAL RAMEL,
Commandant of the Legislative Body Guard.

Et quorum pars magna fui!

18771/2
21/2/24

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR J. WRIGHT, PICCADILLY.

1799.

Just published,

THE THIRD EDITION,

REPLY OF L. N. M. CARNOT,

CITIZEN OF FRANCE,

One of the Founders of the Republic, and Constitutional Member of the Executive Directory:

To the REPORT made on the CONSPIRACY of the 18th Fructidor, by J. Ch. Bailleul, in the Name of the Select Committee.

NARRATIVE,

&c. &c. &c.

AT length I am arrived on the continent of Europe, and am taking my leave of that hospitable land where myself and my companions in misfortune have met with a reception equally honourable to the government to whom we are indebted for it, and to the victims of tyranny who were its objects. Yet even the gratitude I sincerely feel has not induced me to fix my residence among my generous enemies, of whom I entertain so high an opinion that I am persuaded the motives which led me to refuse their asylum have procured me their esteem. I

cannot but believe that it is not against our country: it is not against France, but against the tyrants who enslave it that England is carrying on war; yet it is the blood of Frenchmen that has lately stained the ocean, and is again about to deluge our frontiers! I have participated their fatigues and dangers, and should still be fighting in their ranks had I not been torn from them by the hand of violence. Nor will I ever espouse any other cause than that of national independence, or fight by the side of any warriors but Frenchmen who take up arms for the liberty of their country. Thus is a sentiment of eternal gratitude reconciled to an inviolable fidelity to my duty; and it is with a view to give a proof of both that I publish this Narrative. It will be easily perceived that the writer is a soldier who has taken part in the great events he relates only in consequence of the post he filled; but who, never having stepped beyond the narrow circle of his duty, is unwilling that the tyrants whom he detests, or the intriguers whom he despises, should mistate his actions according to their personal interests or passions. If

all those who have had the misfortune to act in the various scenes of the French Revolution would thus record for posterity those transactions alone of which they were eye-witnesses, materials would exist among which the future historian, when seeking for truth amidst innumerable contradictions, might find documents that would bear those marks of authenticity which exclusively belong to the testimony of a conscience free from reproaches.

During my exile I have only been able to preserve a few notes to assist my memory which was impaired by illness, to recal the order and chain of events. Several particulars will no doubt have escaped me, but the principal and most interesting will at least be hastily sketched. I shall state plain facts, the simple but awful truth, to which I shall be so far from adding, that I shall even avoid the most natural reflections. While describing these fatal scenes, I shall wave all personal resentments, however just and well founded they may be; my heart is too full of the misfortunes of my family, and the

dreadful situation in which I have left many of my brothers in exile, for hatred or revenge to find a place in my writings.

From the year 1792 I had been Adjutant General of the Army of the Rhine, under the orders of the brave General Dessaix, and was specially appointed to the command of the fort of Kehl, which was then besieged by Prince Charles, when I received an order from the Directory to go to Paris to take the command of the guard of the legislative body, to which I had been nominated by the two Councils. That corps of grenadiers, which at first consisted of a battalion of 800 men, had lately been increased to two battalions of 600 men each. The origin of this corps was the battalion of grenadiers of the Convention. If we recollect the period at which this corps was established, we shall easily form an idea of its temper and of the necessity of reforming it. This I was constantly endeavouring to bring about. A new organization, and the filling up the ranks with excellent grenadiers from all the armies, were the means I em-

ployed. In this I was so well supported by the two committees, and the ministers, that in spite of the cabals of the Jacobins, I succeeded in re-establishing the discipline of the troops, and order in the administration of the regiments. Having been frequently attacked, I have had various opportunities of proving both to the friends and enemies of the government my fidelity to the constitution. The consequence was, as I might have expected, that I displeased the violent of both parties. As long as public affairs were conducted by men of sense I had only to defend myself against some obscure miscreants who continually endeavoured to corrupt the grenadiers, and exerted themselves in vain to cast suspicions on me; but after the last change in the legislative body, in proportion as these discussions grew more animated, and especially when the Directory set every thing in a flame by means of the addresses from the Army of Italy, I was tormented on all sides; and the factious took advantage of the general ferment which was so favourable to their designs.

They no longer endeavoured to conceal their plots, and I surprised their emissaries in the barracks and among the ranks. In short, every mode of seduction was employed. In reflecting even now on the conduct I then held under these difficult circumstances, I have no reason to repent of it, since it procured me the hatred of bad men and enabled me to keep the most violent within bounds. Some were desirous of displacing me, and a short time previous to the 18th of Fructidor the Directory caused an offer to be made me of a promotion to another post if I would resign my command.

I was certain to fall a victim to my duty, were it merely because I was resolved to continue faithful to it; nor could I expect justice from any of the parties who were furiously attacking each other. I could only expect it from the virtuous few who were destined to be sacrificed to their fury. But I am contented with the esteem of true patriots, and leave it to the rational part of mankind to judge whether I have deserved it.

For some days past, in consequence of the information received by the committees of inspection for the palace of the two Councils, more than ordinary vigilance had been enjoined me, and I had taken all the necessary precautions to avoid being surprised by the only attack which I had reason to fear, that of the anarchists, who had for some time filled the streets and squares of Paris, and loudly threatened the legislative body even within the limits of my station.

In the evening of the 17th, after having visited my posts, on going to receive the orders of the members of the committee, they seemed equally averse as on the preceding days to believe that the Directory would attempt to destroy the legislative body, or would dare to direct an armed force against it. I heard several deputies, and particularly Emery, Dumas, Vaublanc, Tronçon du Coudray and Thibaudeau, express their indignation at the supposition and at the terror it was calculated to raise among the people. Their security was such that they retired before midnight, and were accompanied by those of

their colleagues who had come to communicate the fears which their private information had excited. I then returned to my quarters to see that my grenadiers were ready to be under arms.

At one o'clock in the morning of the 18th, I received orders from the Minister of War to attend him. I immediately went to the committee room, where I found only one of the inspectors, Rovère, lying down. I communicated to him the order I had received, and added, that " I had been informed several columns of troops were pouring into Paris, and that the commander of the guard of cavalry belonging to the Councils had just informed me he had called in his sentries, and marched his troops over the bridges, together with the two pieces of cannon from the great court of the Thuilleries." It must be observed, that it was in conformity to the orders of the commander in chief, Augereau, that the officer of cavalry refused to obey mine, and had passed the bridges with his troop. Rovère replied, " that all these manœuvres signified nothing,

thing, for orders had been given that several bodies of troops should march over the bridges early in the morning, to perform their exercise; that I need not be alarmed; that he had received very faithful reports, and saw no inconvenience in my waiting on the Minister of War." This, however, I thought it not advisable to do, for fear of being separated from my men.

When I returned home, at half past three in the morning, Poinçot, general of brigade, formerly a garde-du-corps, with whom I had been on terms of friendship and intimacy in the army of the Pyrenees, was announced as coming from General Lemoine, and delivered me a note to the following effect:

"General Lemoine, in the name of the Directory requires the commander of the grenadiers of the legislative body to permit a column of 1500 men, who are appointed to execute the orders of the government, to pass over the Pont-Tournant."

I replied, " that I was astonished, an old com-
" rade, who ought to know me better, should con-
" sent to convey an order which, consistently
" with my honour, I could not obey." But he assured me, that all resistance would be useless, that my 800 grenadiers were already surrounded by 12,000 men, with 40 pieces of cannon. I replied, " that no force directed against the post I commanded should compel me to violate my duty, and that I could receive no orders but from the legislative body, which I would immediately go for."

At this moment I heard a cannon go off so near me, that I imagined my post was already attacked. It was, however, only a signal. I now instantly ordered my grenadiers under arms, and went to the Thuilleries, accompanied by the chiefs of battalion, Pousard and Pleichard, both excellent officers, and in whom I had great confidence.

At the committee of inspection I found Generals Pichegru and Willot. I sent messengers to General Dumas, to the Presidents of both the

Councils; Lafond Ladebat for the Council of Elders, and Simeon for that of Five Hundred; and also to the deputies in the neighbourhood of the Thuilleries, whose residences I happened to know. I prevailed on General Pichegru to come and reconnoitre the position of the troops, who, we found, had already surrounded us, and I renewed my orders to Capt. Vallière, who commanded the post of the *Place de Carousel*, and Lieutenant Le Roy, who commanded that of the Pont-Tournant, to stand firm to their posts, and not to quit them without orders signed by me. We then returned to the committee, and as I was asking for orders how to dispose of my corps de réserve, a messenger arrived, with information that the iron gates of the Pont-Tournant had been forced. At the same instant the divisions of Augereau and Lemoine joined, and the garden of the Thuilleries was filled with troops of both armies. Cannon were pointed against the hall of the Council of Elders, all the avenues were guarded, all the posts doubled and masked by superior forces. The post of the hall of the Council of Five Hundred, which was com-

manded by the brave Lieutenant Blot, had alone refused to open the iron gates, and mix with the troops of Augereau.

In this extremity I positively demanded an order for the corps-de-réserve of grenadiers to be put in motion, and repel force by force. But the deputies replied, that all resistance would be useless, and prohibited me from firing.

It was then half past four o'clock, and General Verdière came to signify to the deputies already assembled, that he had orders to make them quit the palace, and to carry the keys to the Directory. Their refusal excited very warm altercations, but Verdière persisted in his demand, and prevailed with one of them to come down into the garden to speak to General Lemoine. Rovère went down also, and I accompanied them, with my two chiefs of battalion: but we did not find General Lemoine on the terrace. Verdière, however, advised the deputies to withdraw themselves *for their own safety*; and upon their refusal, he stopped all the avenues, and said he

would go and take the instructions of the Directory.

I returned to my post, my corps-de-réserve, from whence I sent a confidential person to General Dumas, to warn him to be upon his guard. He received this message at the very moment when he was entering the court of the barracks, and I have heard from my brother exiles an account of the great efforts he made to join them. He penetrated as far as the terrace adjoining the wing of the Thuilleries, where the troops of Augereau were drawn up; and, even after having learned that the inspectors were arrested, he was going up to the hall to share their fate, when his companions threw him a paper to desire him to make his escape. He had the good fortune to take it up without being noticed, and to pass the sentinels who were ordered not to let any one quit the place.

At half after five, an aid-de-camp of General Augereau brought me the following order:

" The commander of the grenadiers of the " legislative body is ordered to proceed with his " corps to the Quay d'Orsay, where he will wait " for further orders.

(Signed) " AUGEREAU."

This order I refused to obey. I could no longer communicate with the committees, who were arrested and blockaded in the palace. I therefore waited with my corps for the orders of the two Councils; and I must do my men the justice to declare that, hitherto, notwithstanding the critical situation in which we were placed, they kept their ranks with the most perfect firmness; I did not hear a single murmur, and I believe that, so far from being seduced by a few obscure and factious intriguers, the majority were sound, and would have compelled their brethren to have fought bravely by their sides, had I been so fortunate as to have received an order to repel force by force. Having ranged my officers in a circle, to communicate the orders of General Augereau, almost all of them approved my conduct. This was the moment in which some fac-

tious men declared themselves. Captain Tortel exclaimed—" We are not Swiss!" Lieutenant Ménéguin was even so bold as to boast of being the principal author of the revolt of the *Gardes Françaises*. The under-lieutenant Devaux said—" I was wounded on the 13th Vendémiaire fighting against Louis XVIII., and I will not now " fight for him." Another cried aloud—" The " Councils are acting for the King; they are a " set of miscreants, and ought to be exterminated." During these speeches and the disputes they occasioned among the officers, disorder began to spread among the ranks. The chief of brigade, Blanchard, who commanded under me, and who for two months had not dared to show himself, because I had discovered his intrigues, his connections with sanguinary men, and his rapacity in the administration of the corps, suddenly appeared and demanded a distribution of cartridges, on account, he said, of the danger that surrounded us. I felt indignant at his insolence, and I could not help pointedly expressing it to him. I observed, that the grenadiers participated in my indignation; though the same men, an

hour after, marched under an officer whom they despised, and followed him to the Directory. What a lesson to the commanders of troops!

A few moments after this scene, I ordered the ranks to open, that I might inspect my corps, who still kept a good countenance. I had proceeded as far as the third company, when I heard loud and repeated cries of *Vive la République!* and, at the same time, Augereau appeared at the head of so numerous a staff, that the first court of the barracks was quite full. There were above 400 officers of all ranks, among whom I perceived many justly celebrated men, particularly Santerre, Tunck, Yon, Rossignol, Puget, Barbantane, Châteauneuf-Randon, Bessierre, Fournier, Pâche, and the widow Ronsin, in an amazonian dress; also Dutertre and Peyron, both of whom had escaped from the gallies. In short, the very scum of our brave French armies, the leaders of all the revolutionary bands, rushed in a moment among the ranks of my grenadiers, all crying out *Vive la République!*

At this time Augereau came directly up to me, and in his train, which separated me from my men, I perceived Blanchard stirring up his worthy friends, and mixing with the ranks. Among other ill-boding cries, I distinguished these words —" Soldiers, they want to treat you as they did " the Swiss on the 10th of August."—" Ge- " neral Ramel," exclaimed Augereau, " why " have you disobeyed the minister's orders and " mine ?"—" Because," replied I, " I received " contrary orders from the legislative body."— " You have exposed yourself," returned he, " to be tried by a court-martial and shot."—" I " have done my duty," replied I.—" Do you " acknowledge me," said he, " as commander in " chief of the division ?"—" Yes," said I.— " Well," replied he, " I order you under arrest." —" I go," said I, and immediately was crossing the gallery of communication of the quarters of my grenadiers to my own apartment, when I heard that Augereau was following me with part of his staff. Among other menaces, I distinguished these words—" You shall suffer as much " as you have made others suffer ;" yet I never

caused any one to suffer, except those miscreants who deserved it!

As he was now close to me, I put my hand on my sword; upon which all of them fell upon me at once; my sword was broken, I was dragged along, and my clothes were torn. The most furious of my assassins was a serjeant of grenadiers, named Viel, whom I had ordered under arrest a few days before. He now endeavoured to plunge his sabre into my body. It was Augereau himself who saved me from being murdered, and disengaged me from my assailants, crying out vehemently—"Leave him, leave him, do not "kill him; I promise you he shall be shot to-"morrow!"

These miscreants now tore my hat, which had fallen in the contest, but not, as has been said, the badges of my military rank; it was only for my blood they thirsted.

A faithful servant, who came out to meet me, was cut with a sabre in the face, and, being co-

vered with wounds, took refuge in my wife's chamber.

When I got home I was not allowed to settle my affairs, but was conducted almost immediately to the Temple, together with my brother Henry, who obtained permission to accompany me. The jailor said, as we entered—" O ! here " is one of them ; the gentleman must be shown " into the *Chambre des Opinions*." This was the room in which the unfortunate Louis was imprisoned, nor had I any hope of quitting it in any other manner.

At half after eight, the jailor came to inform me, that the deputies arrested at the committee of inspection were just brought in. They were also shown into the King's apartment, and the communication with the rooms formerly occupied by the Queen and Princesses was left free. The arrested deputies were Pichegru, Willot, d'Auchy de Loire, Jarri, Lamétrie, Larue, Bourdon de l'Oise, and Durumas. We found at the Temple Commodore (Sir Sidney) Smith, la Vilheurnois,

Brothier and Duverne du Presle : but the last was removed to the prison called the *Maison de Force* immediately on our arrival. At noon the deputy Aubry was brought in ; at half past three Lafond Ladebat, President of the Council of Elders, Tronçon du Coudrai, Marbois, and Goupil de Prefeln, all members of the same Council. These last were arrested at the house of Lafond Ladebat, under pretence that they were holding a seditious meeting.

They were first carried before Sotin, the minister of police, where they complained of the violence done to the representatives of the people, and demanded a sight of the order of the Directory. Sotin answered with a sneer, " It is of very little consequence, gentlemen, to show you the orders ; for when we come to these extremities, it is the same thing whether we commit ourselves a little more or a little less."

On the 19th we heard an account of the sittings held by the minority of the two Councils under the eyes of the Directory, and that a law

had been passed, condemning us, without cause and without judgment, to be deported to the place fixed on by the Directory themselves. At this sentence we were much surprised ; for we did not doubt but after our violent arrestation, a shorter and consequently less painful fate awaited us under the forms of military law.

Those of the imprisoned deputies who were not proscribed were now set at liberty ; namely, Goupil de Prefeln, Lamétrie, d'Auchy, Jarri, and Durumas.

On the 20th, General Augereau gave orders in the following terms. " General Dutertre, commandant of the Temple, is ordered not to permit any communication with the deported deputies, whatever be the order under which it shall be demanded, or the authority by whom such order may be given, unless it be signed by me." This Dutertre had a month before come out of the gallies of Toulon, where he had been confined under sentence of a court martial for robbery, assassination, and setting fire to houses in la Vendée.

On that day our wives were allowed to come to the Temple. What heart-rending scenes! what cruel separations! I was not permitted to see mine except in the presence of an officer, who would not suffer us to whisper or speak in the dialect of Languedoc, which he did not understand. Enraged at this restraint, I broke off my interview, and intreated my wife to leave me. She obeyed; but her cries and sobs still vibrate in my ear!

The same day was brought to the Temple General Murinais, one of the inspectors of the hall of the Elders. This venerable old man had been arrested as he was going in perfect security to the Council.

On the 21st, I parted with my brother Henry, though I had great difficulty to induce him to leave me; for he persisted in sharing my misfortunes, and without the assistance of my fellow prisoners, Tronçon du Coudray and Barbé Marbois, I should never have convinced him that he would do me more service by consoling my family for my loss, than by assisting me to bear my chains.

At midnight the jailor came to inform us, that the minister of police was just arrived with the Director Barthélemy, and that probably we were immediately to set off. Nor were we even allowed a quarter of an hour to collect our effects together, although none of us were at all prepared for so precipitate a departure.

When we came down to the foot of the tower we found Barthélemy between Augereau and Sotin, who, as he brought him to the Temple in his carriage, said to him, " Such is the nature " of revolutions! *we* triumph to-day, to-morrow, " perhaps, *your* turn will come." Barthélemy having asked him, if no misfortune had happened, and whether the public tranquillity had not been disturbed? Sotin replied, " No; the dose was a " good one; the people have swallowed the pill, " and it has taken effect."

When Sotin took leave of us, he affected to be gay, and said, " Gentlemen, I wish you a " good voyage." Augereau called over the condemned, and, as we were named, a guard con-

ducted us to the carriages that were waiting for us, across a line of soldiers who insulted us. Some of us were even maltreated, and our faithful servants, among whom was my poor Etienne, whose face was gashed and disfigured with wounds, had not left the prison gate, where they had been watching for our departure, that they might bid us adieu, but they were repulsed, and struck by the soldiers, who cried out, " This is " not the promise that was made us: why are " they suffered to go away, and why are they " carrying their effects with them?" Augereau observing our tranquillity, could not contain his rage, which he suffered to break forth in a manner that deserves to be recorded.

Le Tellier, servant to Barthélemy, came running up, as we were getting into the carriages, with an order from the Directory, permitting him to accompany his master. He delivered it to Augereau, who, having read it, said, " You " are determined, then, to share the fate of these " men, who are lost for ever. Whatever events " await them, be assured, they will never return."

My

" My mind is made up," answered Le Tellier, " I shall be but too happy to share the misfor- " tunes of my master." " Well, then," replied Augereau, " go ! fanatic, and perish with him."— At the same time adding, " Soldiers, let this man " be watched as closely as those miscreants." Le Tellier now threw himself on his knees, before his master, who was but too happy at this awful moment to press so affectionate a friend to his bosom. This worthy fellow has constantly shown the same courage and attachment, and we have always treated and considered him as one of our companions.

The four carriages in which the sixteen prisoners were seated, without regard to the ill health and weakness of some of us, were placed upon four-wheeled waggons, nearly resembling gun-carriages. They were a kind of cage, secured on all their four sides with bars of iron breast high, which bruised us with the least shake or jolt. We were four in each carriage, besides a guard who carried the key of the padlock that fastened the iron grating by which we

entered. General Dutertre commanded the escort, consisting of 600 men, infantry and cavalry, and two pieces of cannon. During the time that the carriages and cavalcade were preparing to move, in the court-yard of the Temple, we were loaded with insults by a considerable body of anarchists.

We set off at two in the morning of the 22nd. Fructidor (8 September) in dreadfully bad weather, and were made to traverse all Paris, which we were to quit by the *Barrière d'Enfer*, leading to the Orleans road: instead of going along the *Rue St. Jacques*, our escort turned to the right, after passing the bridge, and brought us by the Luxembourg Palace, where our melancholy funeral procession was detained more than three quarters of an hour. We saw lights in the apartments of the palace, and amidst the tumultuous joy of the guards, we heard the execrable Dutertre called to, and desired *to take good care of those gentlemen*. Some too well known members of the minority in the Council of Five-Hundred, who were holding the celebrated permanent

sitting at the Odeum, came out to see us, and basely insulted us. They mixed with the *chasseurs* of the escort, gave them drink, and, approaching the carriages, drank our healths, and talked to us of *mercy and pardon*.

The stormy night, the glare of the fire-pots burning around the theatre of the Odeum, and the howlings of the terrorists, made this dreadful farewell a scene of horror truly worthy of the barbarians who gave it birth. At length, however, the escort passed along the *Rue d'Enfer*, and thus we quitted Paris.

At two o'clock in the afternoon we arrived at Arpajon, which is eight leagues from Paris, extremely fatigued with the jolting of the waggons along this paved road; both Barthélemy and Barbé Marbois appeared almost exhausted. Yet, to our astonishment, in lieu of procuring us a comfortable lodging, that we might recover our strength, the commandant, Dutertre, conducted us to an obscure dirty prison. He watched our countenances as we quitted the carriages to enter

our dungeon, and was enraged that any of us should appear not to be affected by this accumulation of hardships. " These miscreants," cried he, " look as if they meant to brave me ; but I " will see if I cannot conquer this insolence." I had already laid myself down on some straw, together with several of my companions : Barthélemy, who was standing, raised his hands towards Heaven : Barbé Marbois, who was very ill, arrived, and drawing back with horror at the sight and mephitic smell of this subterraneous dungeon, said to Dutertre, " Let me be shot immediately, " and spare me the horrors of dying by inches." The latter smiled, and made a sign to the jailor to do his office. The jailor's wife then said, with an imprecation, to Marbois, " You pretend to be " very nice ; many men who are as good as you " don't make such a pother." As she finished this speech she took him by the arm and threw him from the top to the bottom, and, notwithstanding our cries and those of our wounded fellow prisoner, this infernal fury immediately shut the door upon us, and left us in the dark to raise up our unfortunate friend, who was covered with

blood. Nor could we obtain for him either a surgeon or any other assistance ; not even a little water to wash his wounds, though his face was much bruised, and one of his jaw bones fractured.

On the 23d Fructidor (9 Sept.), at noon, we passed through the little town of Etampes, too famous, in the course of the revolution, for the commotions of the anarchists, and the murder of a respectable magistrate. Here Dutertre made us halt in the middle of the public square, and exposed us to the insults of the populace, who were suffered to collect around the carriages. We were hooted at, cursed, and covered with mud ; and in vain desired we might either go on, or be allowed to get out. Tronçon du Coudray, who was very ill, had gone into the same carriage with his friend Marbois, who had obtained a bundle of straw, as a favour, on account of his recent wound, and the fever it had caused. General Murinais, the Director Barthélemy, and Lafond Ladebat, had joined them. These five men, who were united by a similarity of opi-

nions and of views relative to the causes and consequences of the events of the 5th Sept., continued together during the remainder of our journey. At Etampes, which is in the department of the Seine and Oise, du Coudray, who was deputy for that department, was in the very district whose inhabitants had contributed to his election with the greatest ardour. He strongly felt the ingratitude and base desertion of his fellow-citizens; and suddenly rising up, as if he had been at the tribune, " 'Tis I myself," said he, " 'tis your representative; do you know me in this iron cage? 'Tis I to whom you entrusted the guardianship of your rights, and it is in my person those rights have been violated. I am dragged to punishment without having been tried, or even accused. My crime is that of having defended your liberties and properties, endeavoured to procure peace for our country, and thus to restore your children to you. My crime is that of having been faithful to the constitution which we have sworn to maintain. And you this day repay my zeal and assiduity to serve and defend you, by uniting with

my executioners!" This vehement harangue of du Coudray, of which I have only given the outline, struck a momentary awe into this outrageous mob, among whom, no doubt, there could not be one true French citizen. They presently renewed their insults, which continued, without interruption, till some bread and wine were brought us for our dinner.

After being thus exposed, as it were, in a pillory, during thirteen hours, we set off to sleep at Angerville, which is four leagues from Orleans. Here Dutertre again persisted in crowding us into a dungeon, when Adjutant-General Augereau (who ought by no means to be confounded with the General of that name), being moved with compassion, took upon himself to lodge us at an inn ; upon which Dutertre immediately put him under arrest, and sent him back to Paris.

Early on the 24th (10 Sept.) we arrived at Orleans, where we passed the remainder of the day and the following night in a house of confinement, formerly the convent of Ursulines.

Here we met with some feeling hearts, and the hand of humanity eluded the vigilance of our guard, and afforded us those consolations, the charms of which can scarcely be conceived by those who have not experienced them under circumstances of the deepest misery. Here we were not guarded by our escort, but by the Gendarmerie, whose commander discharged his duty with kindness and generosity. Two ladies, or rather two angels, having already made every necessary preparation at the Ursulines, disguised themselves in coarse dresses, to procure an opportunity of attending on us. They offered us such succours as we wanted, and also money: we thanked them affectionately for their kindness, and, though we declined their offers, have derived from the impression this generous action made upon our hearts, a consolation which has often supported our constancy in the hour of trial. At Orleans we might have made our escape, not by the assistance of the generous ladies, but of persons whose names would in vain be sought for, and who would have devoted themselves for our safety. But we unanimously

rejected

rejected the proposal. By some incomprehensible blindness, the majority of our party, and especially those of the Council of Elders, would at that time have thought we sullied our characters had we attempted to elude our sentence.

On the 25th (11 Sept.) we were carried from Orleans to Blois, where we no sooner arrived than we perceived an uncommon assemblage of watermen. Here the carriages were attacked, but Captain Gauthier, who commanded the cavalry of the escort, repulsed the wretches who were at the head of this commotion. We remarked very different impressions in the people: "There they are!" cried they; "there are the miscreants who killed the King! There are his assassins! They have loaded us with taxes; they eat our bread, and are the cause of the war." In short, all the reproaches which the people might justly have directed against their tyrants were lavished upon the victims of tyranny. We were lodged in a small and very damp church, where a little straw had been strewed on the pavement; and it was impossible for us to take

any rest. We endeavoured to learn the cause of these opposite movements of the people, and were informed that the celebrated Abbé Grégoire had procured us this kind reception by his pastoral letters.

On the 26th (12 September) before we quitted our prison at Blois we were witnesses to the last interview and cruel separation of Mr. and Madame de Marbois. This lady was at her estate near Metz when she was informed of the arrest of her husband. On this she flew to Paris, but did not arrive there till after our departure. She immediately followed us, but without waiting to apply to the Directory for permission to see her husband wherever she might overtake us, and the commissary of the government at Blois made use of this pretext to refuse her request. She was in like manner repulsed by the commandant, Dutertre. At length, however, and only a few moments before our departure, by shewing the jailors the permission she had obtained to see her husband in the Temple, she procured that of entering our prison, when she was only allowed a

quarter of an hour, during which an officer held his watch in his hand. A little before the last minute was expired, Marbois collected his strength, and led his worthy help-mate towards us; but Barthélemy and Ducoudray were already so much altered that she could not recollect them. " My friends," said her husband, " I present to you Madame de Marbois, who, while parting with me, is desirous to take her leave of you." We gathered round her with transport; and she wished us, not courage, but health and strength. She now burst into tears, and Marbois said, with firmness: " Leave us, leave us; it is time we should part." He then embraced her and carried her in his arms to the gate of the prison, which he opened and shut again himself, after which he fell on the pavement in a swoon. We immediately flew to his assistance. " My friends," said he, when partly recovered, " here I am again entire. I have found again the source of my courage." Accordingly from that time he was less depressed by his illness, recovered a part of his strength, and with it that firm and serene

countenance which is the natural companion of fortitude.

The preparations for our departure from Blois were protracted so long that we had reason to fear we were to remain there; and it was by a singular circumstance we learnt the motives of this delay. The Adjutant General of our escort, Colin, well known in consequence of the part he took in the massacres of the 2nd. of September, and a man named Guillet, his worthy companion, came into the prison about 10 o'clock, when they both seemed much agitated. "Gentlemen," said the municipal officer of the guard, who had never left us since our arrival, "why do you not set off? every thing has been long ready; the crowd increases; and your conduct is more than suspicious. I have seen and heard both of you instigating the people to commit violence on the prisoners, and I declare to you that if any accident happens I will cause my deposition to be recorded in the books of the municipality." These two villains stammered out some paltry excuses, and we were accom-

panied at our departure with the same clamours, imprecations and menaces, with which we had been received the day before.

That night (12th September) we slept at Amboise, in so small a room that we could not lay ourselves down upon the straw, and we felt very impatient to arrive at Tours that we might take a little rest.

We arrived there on the 27th (13th September). This town had lately experienced a commotion in which some blood had been spilt. The anarchists, who had long been kept down, had broke out under pretext of the pretended conspiracy of the legislative body. Emboldened by the new measures of the government, whose protection had been given to miscreants, and not content with oppressing good citizens from whom that protection was withdrawn, they attacked them with arms, and imbrued their hands in their blood. The constituted authorities had lately undergone what, in the language of these men, is called a purification, and the places of

the true magistrates elected by the people were now filled by the same men who, during the war of La Vendée, had become eminent among informers and executioners. We were carried to the prison of the Conciergerie, which was full of galley-slaves in chains, and we were put together with them into a court surrounded by dungeons, where they were shut up at night, and one of which was now appropriated for us. Our guard had scarcely left us, before the convicts with one accord withdrew into a corner, and while they thus modestly kept their distance, one of them said to us: "Gentlemen, we are sorry to see you here. We are not worthy to approach you; but if in the miserable condition to which we are reduced we can render you any service, deign to accept it. The dungeon appointed for you is the coldest and narrowest of all; and we request you to accept of ours which is larger and less damp." We thanked these poor wretches, and accepted this singular hospitality, offered us by hands which had been sullied with crimes, but by hearts which were open to pity.

It was above thirty hours since we had eaten, when a pound of bread and half a bottle of wine each, which was all our allowance, were brought to us.

On the 28th (14th September) we arrived at St. Maure. Our escort was extremely fatigued, for we made double the usual marches, and no halts. The infantry had been exchanged in the garrisons; but the cavalry were quite exhausted. Dutertre finding here a moveable column of the national guards, consisting of peasants, placed us in their custody, the better to refresh his troops, and rendered the municipality responsible for our persons. And here let me pay a tribute of gratitude and remembrance for the compassionate attentions we received from the inhabitants of St. Maure, who procured us that wholesome food of which we were in extreme want. We were now less narrowly guarded, and such was the negligence or rather the benevolence of these good peasants, the majority of whom were armed only with pikes, that we could go even to the high road without being attended or watched by the senti-

nels. As we were within musket shot of the forest, some of us proposed, and myself among the number, to take advantage of this favourable opportunity. Not that I would have abandoned any one of my brothers in misfortune, but I was extremely desirous they should all determine to make their escape. Unfortunately they could not agree upon this measure. All the members of the Council of Five Hundred were for escaping, but those of the Council of Elders persisted in remaining. They said, it was impossible but the nation should, sooner or later, open their eyes, and at length grant them judges. " And are you not already judged, condemned and abandoned ?" replied their colleagues; " make use of an opportunity which will never again return." Willot, who knew the country from having been there in the service, strongly persisted in his opinion, and offered to be our guide. Marbois declared that he had rather submit to his fate than furnish his enemies with weapons against him. Tronçon du Coudray said positively, that he thought it his duty to his country and to his constituents, ungrateful as they were,

were, to act consistently with his character, and to wait in prison till a proper time for his justification. As to the agents of the King, they doubted not they should be liberated by some party of Royalists before they arrived at Rochefort; and the Abbé Brothier heartily pitied us Constitutionalists, because we should be very ill received, and, perhaps, cut to pieces by the Vendéens. The members of the Elders, however, prevailed, and, day appearing, we again beheld our iron cages, and the Cerberus Dutertre.

We set off, and proceeded a long time amidst this extensive forest, which might so well have afforded us an asylum, and protected our flight. The roads were so bad, and our waggons jolted so severely, that we asked in vain for permission to walk on foot in the midst of the escort; for when once we had entered the carriages, and the iron grating was locked, they were not opened again till night. Even Pichegru and myself, though still young and hardened by the fatigues of war, supported this with difficulty; but the old men, and Marbois, Barthélemy, and du

Coudray, who were ill, suffered inexpressible pain. At our arrival, our treatment was still more cruel. Every night we were exhibited as a sight to the people, and then shut up in prisons, when we were worse accommodated and fed than the vilest criminals.

That of Chatellerault, where we arrived on the 29th (15 Sept.), appeared the worst we had yet occupied. Here we were shut up in so infectious a dungeon, that several of us swooned, and we should all have been stifled, had not the door, at which sentinels were placed to watch us closely, been speedily opened. Marbois was very ill, and du Coudray, who was attending him, was sitting on the straw, when a poor wretch, who had been in close imprisonment, came to visit us in our dungeon. He hastened to bring us some fresh water, and offered his bed to Marbois, who accepted it, and was somewhat better after this repose. "Be patient, gentlemen," said this man, "in time we accustom ourselves to every thing."

On the 30th (16 Sept.) we were treated but little better at Poitiers, although some persons, whom prudence forbids me to name, exerted themselves to give us some proofs of their kindness. This was the native place of the deputy Thibaudeau, a member of the Council of Five Hundred, who, being excepted from the list of proscriptions, had the courage and generosity to demand the honour of being deported.

On the 17th Sept. we arrived at Lusignan. The prison of this little town being too small to hold all sixteen of us, Dutertre gave orders that we should pass the night in the carriages in the middle of the public square; notwithstanding the heavy rain and cold wind we had endured throughout the day. The mayor and the commandant of the national guard, who was an old man of great humanity, offered to be responsible for us, and, with great difficulty, obtained permission to lodge us in an inn. Scarcely were we housed, before we saw a courier arrive. Each of us formed his own conjectures; some suddenly conceived hopes, and all of us thought some

new event had taken place. But we soon found the object of his embassy was of little importance. It was merely an order from the Directory to the Adjutant-General Guillet, to arrest and bring his general, Dutertre, to Paris, on account of the extortions and peculations he had committed since our departure, and the 800 louis-d'ors he had received for the expences of the journey; for which he provided by requisitions from the municipalities. I confess that I received some pleasure from seeing this wretch thus punished by his masters before he had completed the mission with which they had entrusted him, and which he so well discharged. When I heard the carriage that was intended for him approach, I was desirous of seeing his countenance in my turn. My curiosity, however, had nearly cost me my life. As I opened the window, a sentinel from without, apparently in conformity to former orders from Dutertre, fired at me, and the ball broke the bar above my head.

I have already said, that the arrest of Dutertre was to us an event of but little importance, because

the Adjutant-General Guillet, who succeeded him, was no better than his predecessor. Of this we had a proof the next day (the 18th Sept.) at St. Maixent, where he arrested the mayor before our eyes, because, moved with compassion at our deplorable situation, he had said to us, with great humanity, " gentlemen, I feel much for you, and every good citizen participates in my sentiments." This act of violence produced such discontent and murmuring, that Guillet was obliged to set this worthy man at liberty. It was at this place the descriptions of our persons were taken. An officer of the staff called us two by two, interrogated us, and dictated the description to the *Brigand* Cordebar (the same who was condemned at Vendôme, together with Babœuf). Here he acted in the capacity of secretary to the commandant of the escort. There is no kind of insult and gross abuse that these wretches did not lavish upon us. " And thou," said one of them, " what trade or calling didst thou follow?"—" That," returned I, " which villains like thee have dishonoured; I am a soldier."

As yet we had received no information relative to the fate that awaited us, or where we were going; nor did we even know of our proscription, but by listening to the criers about the Temple. Even the pretended law of the 19th Fructidor (5 Sept.) had not been officially communicated to us. On our arrival at Niort, on the 19th Sept., being extremely desirous to read the public papers, we asked for them with great earnestness. We were in the dungeon of the castle, a dark damp hole, more than 25 feet below the surface of the earth; and the municipal officer who was upon guard over us promised to send us, the next day, all the newspapers he could collect. But the ex-conventionalist, le Cointre Puiravaux, one of the vilest tools of the anarchists, and who was commissary of the government there, forbad all communication with the deported persons, under the severest penalties. On this occasion, none of us escaped the bad effects of the dampness of our dungeon, which we quitted the next day (20 Sept.) almost unable to move, and went to sleep at Surgères, where the roads divide that lead to Rochelle and

Rochefort. Here the hurry and bustle we observed around us, the couriers that were going and coming, the extraordinary precaution of placing the sentinels within our dungeon, every thing led us to imagine we were near the end of our journey; and we hoped that at length we should be indulged with a few days repose, and receive the effects and the succours of all kinds, which our precipitate departure had prevented our bringing away with us. We even flattered ourselves that, after having rid themselves of the men whom the public esteem rendered formidable to them, the Directory, confiding in the stupor of the nation, would not act with a useless severity towards us, that could only increase the general hatred, of which they were the object. We were deceived; for honest men will ever be deceived when they attempt to speculate on the conduct of villains, or to calculate the degrees of criminality they will incur.

On the 21st September we left Surgères at three o'clock in the morning, and by the most dreadful roads, where we were extremely bruised on

all sides for nine tedious leagues. We arrived at three in the afternoon in sight of Rochefort. But in lieu of entering the city, as we hoped, our cavalcade turned off along the glacis, and going round the city, directed its course to the port. This was a most awful moment; for we perceived but too clearly that our fate was determined, and that we were about to be separated, perhaps for ever, from every thing that can attach men to life. The most ill-omened presages now surrounded us. The garrison of Rochefort lined the hedge upon the road, and a crowd of sailors made the air re-echo with the ill-boding cry of "*To the water, to the water!*" Thus we arrived on the banks of the Charente, where the innumerable workmen of the dock-yards, the soldiers of the garrison, and the sailors, ran to the water-side, and, crowding round our carriages and our escort, cried out aloud—"*Down with the tyrants; make them drink out of the large cup.*"

Such were the farewell salutations we received from our fellow-citizens, while an adjutant or commissary of marine, named la Coste, whose face,

face, which was furrowed with scars, I seemed to recollect, called over the deported persons, and received us from the commandant of the escort, Guillet.

As we came out of the carriages the commissary la Coste put us into a boat: but he found M. de Marbois in so bad a state of health, that at first he refused to take him on board, declaring that he was dying, and could not bear two days voyage. Upon this, Guillet put himself in a passion, threatened to arrest la Coste, and swore he would denounce him and have him cashiered. Accordingly, Marbois was carried into the boat, and Guillet embarked along with us.

We were now taken on board a two-masted vessel, which was moored about the middle of the river, and called the *Brilliant*, being a small privateer taken from the English. Some ill-looking soldiers rudely made us go down between decks, pushing and crowding us towards the forecastle, whilst we were stifled with the smoke of the kitchen.

We were suffering extremely from hunger and thirst; for we had neither eaten nor drank during thirty-six hours. A pail of water was let down in the midst of us, and a couple of the crew's loaves were thrown down beside it, with a gesture of the utmost contempt. We were, however, unable to eat on account of the smoke and our very uneasy situation. In the mean while, the sentinels, who pressed us more and more, held the most horrid language. Pichegru having resented the insolence of the soldier who was in the midst of us, the latter replied to the general—"Thou hadst better be silent, for thou art not "yet out of our power." This was a boy of fifteen or sixteen years of age.

We had reason to believe that the place of our deportation was no other than the bed of the river Charente, and that we were already on board one of those horrid instruments of execution, a vessel with a trap-door, invented to quench the thirst of tyrants for human blood, and to murder in the dark as rapidly as possible as many victims as their thoughts or their caprice could desire.

Thus we continued till night. What a dreadful night! we listened with anxious suspense, constantly expecting the fatal moment to arrive; and when the sailors began to hand the ropes, we doubted not but our last hour was come. But instead of this the Brilliant had set sail, and was going down the river. The tide, however, was against us, and at eleven o'clock at night we moored in the great road. A few moments after we had cast anchor, six of us were called up on deck. This was a dreadful moment!—I was not of the number of those who were first called, and we bid, as we thought, a final adieu to our companions. This successive calling us up, the ferocious joy of the soldiers and of the crew, the presence of Guillet, convinced us our fellow prisoners were taken from us to execution. In this cruel suspense we remained near half an hour, in silent horror and resignation.

More of us were afterwards called up in our turn, and then only four remained. Aubry, Bourdon, Dossonville and Willot were those who experienced this last anguish, this pro-

longation of torture: till at length, contrary to our expectation, we all met again on board a corvette, named *la Vaillante*, commanded by Captain Julien, who as he received us on board, desired us to be patient; and assured us that while he punctually performed the orders of the Directory, he would neglect nothing to soften our afflictions. The commandant Guillet followed us on board the Vaillante, and, perceiving the impression his presence made on us, said: "Yes, gentlemen, here I am again."

We were now ordered down between decks. "Do they intend to starve us to death?" cried the unfortunate Dossonville, who suffered more cruelly than any of us in consequence of the want of food. "No, no, gentlemen," said an officer of the corvette, laughing, (this was des Poyes formerly an officer on board the Royal fleet) "your supper will be brought you presently." "Do but give me some fruit," said Marbois, almost expiring. Immediately after two loaves of the crew's bread were thrown down from above board. This was all the promised

supper we received, and however frugal it was for our miserable party, who had not eaten during forty hours, we have often looked back to it with a longing recollection : for that was the last time we tasted bread !

This last removal to a vessel of war, the motions of the crew in preparing to get under sail, the reception of the captain, the humanity that appeared in his language, notwithstanding the severity of his countenance, and his firm tone in the presence of his crew, every thing concurred in convincing us, or inducing us to believe, that, at least, we were not to be speedily put to death—when on a sudden Captain Julien, who a moment before had been talking with Guillet near the edge of the hatchway, came down between decks, accompanied by some armed soldiers, and distributed hammocks to only twelve of us, whom he called to receive them. Those who had none, were Willot, Pichegru, Dossonville, and myself. We were separated from our companions by the guard that attended Captain Julien, who himself ordered us to go

down into the boatswain's store-room, saying, "As for you four gentlemen, that is to be your lodging."

This unexpected blow seemed as much to affect our twelve companions as ourselves; nor would they consent to be separated from us; but requested to be treated with equal barbarity. Tronçon du Coudray and Barbé Marbois in particular exclaimed against this separation, and insisted strongly on our sharing the same fate. Barthélemy and his faithful le Tellier, seeing us dragged away by the soldiers into the store-room, ran to the hatchway and jumped down with us; upon which the captain threatened to make them go up again by means of the bayonet; but they did not yield to his menaces; they yielded only to our urgent entreaties.

Thus four of us now remained in the profoundest darkness, in that horrid dungeon, infected by the exhalations of the hold, and by the cables, without hammocks or coverings, or any thing on

which to lay our heads; though unable to hold ourselves upright.

Our twelve fellow prisoners were also extremely confined between decks, over our heads, with the hatchways shut, and, like us, entirely deprived of air, of motion, and of the necessaries of life.

The corvette set sail at four o'clock in the morning, as we perceived by the cries of the crew, and, soon after, by the motion of the waves.

At eight o'clock in the morning of the 22d of February one of the hatchways was opened, we heard the bell ring for the crew's breakfast, and a biscuit for each of us was thrown down.

Our companions now desired the captain to be called; upon which he came to the hatchway: "Deported!" said the Captain, "what do you want with me?"—"To tell you," said Marbois, "that the biscuit we have just received is a kind

of food to which none of us are accustomed. Some of us are old, and cannot chew it, and besides, that given us is so rotten, that none of your crew would eat it. We desire you to inform us of the orders you have received relative to us."—" Deported," replied the captain, " I have no other biscuit to order you ; 'tis the food I am to give you. Take what is offered, and think yourselves happy that I do not more rigorously execute the orders I have received. 'Tis very singular, that in your present situation, you should demand a sight of my orders. I have nothing to communicate."—" As I have performed several long voyages," replied Marbois, " I must inform you, that if you keep us thus closely shut up, and deprived of the external air, and without those precautions which are indispensably necessary to prevent our rendering that air we breathe infectious ; not only you will kill us in a very few days, but you will have the plague on board your ship, and lose your crew."—" Well," said the captain, as he went away, " I shall see what I can do when we have got out of sight of the French coast."

At

At noon a biscuit each was again brought us, and a bucket full of gourganes or large beans boiled, and without any kind of seasoning, was set down for us. This was afterwards our daily allowance, and the only food that was given us during the whole voyage. With this two cabin boys were appointed to serve us. He that waited on our fellow prisoners was named Aristides, and was a very handsome and a very good lad; but ours was an ill-looking, ill-disposed boy. The characters of these attendants, the only persons with whom we could communicate, was of great importance to our fate; and Aristides had a considerable share in the consolations which we very rarely experienced——the good little Aristides!

Such was our lot on board this floating tomb, which tore us from our native soil, and was carrying us to an unknown country.

Scarcely had we got out to sea before the winds became contrary, and the tempest so violent, that the captain was obliged to put into the road of Rochelle, where we cast anchor before night.

About eleven o'clock the next day (23rd Sept.) Admiral Martin came on board the corvette, notwithstanding the bad weather, bringing with him Captain la Porte, who had orders from the Directory to take the command instead of Captain Julien. This event we learnt merely by listening to the proclamation of Admiral Martin, who ordered the crew to obey their new captain.

We soon perceived, by the manner in which Captain la Porte set out, that under the command of Captain Julien we had not yet sunk to the lowest state of misery. We heard him with a harsh thundering voice, like that of a speaking trumpet, haranguing his crew as follows: "Soldiers, I order you to watch these great culprits closely; and you, sailors, I forbid you, under pain of death, to communicate, in any manner whatever, with those miscreants." He then went his rounds, and called us over; and, having examined us closely, said, "gentlemen, you are very fortunate to have been treated with so much *clemency*."

The winds were contrary, and there was a great swell in the sea. About three o'clock the same day (23d Sept.), a boat put off from Rochelle, and made towards the corvette with all the force of their oars. On being hailed, they answered they had some effects belonging to the deported persons: but Captain la Porte forbad them to board us, and threatened to sink them. The boat, however, was already under the stern of the Vaillante, and the son of Laffond Ladebat declared his name, supplicating for permission to see his father and give him some clothes. But the captain was inflexible to the groans of this wretched father, who, hearing the voice of his son, cried out with rage, and struggled between decks. He was equally inflexible to the tears and cries of the young man, who, full of despair, supplicated on his knees that he might be permitted, for this last time, to embrace his father. "No, no," cried la Porte; "take thyself away "immediately, or I will sink thee." He only permitted young Laffond to deliver the portmanteau he brought to the sailors, and then ordered the boat to keep off, together with this af-

fectionate son, who never afterwards beheld his father.

An hour after this heart-rending scene, the captain got under sail, notwithstanding the tempest, thus braving all the dangers of the Bay of Biscay even during the equinoxial gales, not only that we might incur this additional risk, but hoping, no doubt, that by this means we should escape the English. Thus we a second time quitted the coasts of France at five o'clock in the afternoon, on the 23d of September. The night was very stormy, and we had nearly been lost in doubling the reefs of the Pertuis d'Antioche. The next day, however, (24th Sept.) the captain was again obliged to come to, and cast anchor nearly abreast of the mouth of the river of Bourdeaux, in the road of Blaye.

I can give no account of the nautical manœuvres of our ship, nor can I add any thing to what I have already said, of our situation during the first days of our voyage; for, notwithstanding the illness which the rolling of the ship occasioned

in most of us, we had not yet obtained permission to go upon deck, and the hatches being constantly shut on account of the bad weather, we were all in the greatest agony.

On the 25th, the winds having abated, we again got under sail. It was not, however, till four days after (on the 29th Sept.), that we were permitted to go upon deck for an hour; one-half of us being called up at four o'clock, and the other half at five. During these two hours, the soldiers were under arms, and the deported were only allowed to walk in the gangway between two masts. They were prohibited from speaking, and all the crew were forbid to say any thing to them.

The detachments which had been put on board the Vaillante to guard us, chiefly consisted of marines sent home from the islands of France and Bourbon by Messrs. de Circey, together with the commissaries of the Directory, who had been sent to those colonies to carry out the decrees which had disorganized and destroyed the French set-

tlements at the Antilles. These men had formerly been selected from among the revolutionary bands of the committee of Nantes, so famous in the annals of terror by the massacres and the drownings of the priests who were sentenced to deportation!

We heard them relate to each other their various exploits. One boasted of having, during a march, assassinated his captain in the back, and thrown him into a ditch, because he suspected him of aristocracy; another coolly enumerated how many priests he had drowned in the Loire; a third explained to his comrades how these drownings were performed, and the grimaces of the unfortunate wretches at the moment of submersion: several of them bragged of having killed with their oars those who, after passing through the trap-door in the drowning vessels, endeavoured to save their lives by swimming; and they acknowledged that those who had sent them back from the island of Bourbon had done well, for that otherwise they would have put that colony *à la hauteur de la révolution!*

If these monsters suspended for a moment their horrid conversations, it was to sing disgusting songs. They chose the time of our rest, to place themselves by the hatchway, and howl out their obscenities, their blasphemies, and their songs of cannibals. If we requested their indulgence, they loaded us with abuse, and immediately resumed their infernal chorusses.

On the eighth day of our voyage, when we were permitted to breathe for an hour each day, only three of us, Tronçon du Coudray, Pichegru, and la Vilheurnois, were able to avail themselves of this liberty. The rest had not strength enough to go upon deck. I was myself eight-and-twenty days without being able to go quite out of the hole we occupied! The old general Murinais made an effort to climb upon deck, but his strength failed him, and he fell from the upper deck into the hold. We immediately hastened to his assistance, and thought he was killed. In the mean while, some of the sailors slid down the rope into the hold, and assisted us to lift up this poor old man, who was unable to

move, and whose face was terribly bruised, and his white hair covered with blood.—But the ferocious captain ran to the edge of the hatchway, and called aloud, "Sailors, you know your orders, which prohibit you from holding any communication with the deported. Come away, and let a glass of water be given to the sick man."

Captain la Porte did not omit any species of torment that might contribute to make us sink under our calamities; and with a refinement of barbarity, would not allow us the use of steps to go upon deck; so that, being obliged to swarm a rope in the clear of the hatchways, those of the prisoners who were too weak for that exertion, and to whom the fresh air was most necessary, could not procure that indulgence.

The most ordinary, the vilest accommodations and conveniencies, the most necessary utensils were denied us; and when we asked, as a favour, for a little straw, to prevent us from being bruised by the rolling of the ship, "they are laughing at me," said the captain; "the boards

are

are too soft for those rascals. I wish I could have the place paved for them."

Our fellow prisoners represented to the captain, by the interposition of the good little Aristides, that they had no spoons, or cups, or basons, to separate their portions; but the captain replied, "what occasion for spoons to eat *gourganes* and biscuit? Have not those villains fingers? and do they not know how to drink out of a bucket? Besides, I will not be troubled; they must know that, in their present situation, all their applications are perfectly useless."

On the fourteenth day of our voyage, the want of air and of food had reduced most of us to the last extremity; and in the momentary visits which the surgeon paid us, he told us, we only suffered from the sea-sickness, and that as for the scurvy, we should find means of cure on shore, for Guiana abounded in turtles.

Pichegru was the only one of the four prisoners in the store-room who was not affected

with sea-sickness; but he suffered so much the more severely, in consequence, by hunger, and had frequent paroxysms of rage. But as he had more strength than the rest, he paid great attention to his fellow prisoners.

At seven in the morning of the 4th October, the hatches were opened to air the ship. A little more light than usual now cheered our dungeon, where we seemed struggling with death itself, and our languishing features could scarcely express our mutual adieus; when suddenly the commandant of the marine guard of the ship, the worthy Capt. Hurto, whom we had only remarked for the decency of his behaviour towards us, jumped into the hold, and, falling amidst us, hurt his leg. "Gentlemen," cried he, in great agitation, "do not ruin me, do not ruin me: but I cannot bear all these horrors. Here is tea and sugar; Maître Dominique will bring you some hot water. Do you understand me, Maître Dominique? Him you may trust; but, for God's sake, do not ruin me! I must keep my station, that I may support my family, and my poor dear wife!" He could

scarcely utter these words, for his voice was almost stifled with sobs, while he exclaimed, " Oh Heavens ! And 'tis I, 'tis I that am compelled to execute these horrors !"

Presently after, Maître Dominique brought us some hot water and a bason. This refreshment was to us as welcome as the manna from Heaven. It not only restored us to life, but what still more reanimated us, and again opened our hearts to a ray of pleasure, was the unexpected humanity of this beneficent action : this proof that Providence had not utterly abandoned us ; and that there were still some angels of consolation amidst the demons that surrounded us.

On the 7th October we were in sight of the coasts of Spain. Marbois remarked it, and learnt from a sailor, who had privately sold him some bread made of Indian corn, that we were abreast of St. Andero, and that some people from the coast, towards which we were making, had brought us some refreshments. He thought that, on this occasion, we ought to make one

more attempt to prevail with the captain: that this would be our last opportunity of procuring fresh provisions; and that, perhaps, his avarice might, for once, overpower his cruelty, and induce him to permit persons to go on shore to purchase for us the articles we might want. Marbois, therefore, wrote a letter, which was carried to the captain by the faithful Aristides, and which was as follows:

"Having had no notice of our embarkation for so long a voyage, we had no opportunity to make the least provision for it; you have not communicated the orders and instructions you have received relative to our treatment on board, and it is impossible you should have orders to starve us to death. We must therefore conclude, the barbarities you exercise towards us are an abuse of your authority. Reflect that you may one day repent of your conduct; that our blood will fall upon your own head; and that perhaps to all France, but certainly to our families, to our brothers and our sons, you will have to give

an account of the lives of men whom chance has placed in your hands.

" We desire, that before we leave the Spanish coasts and the Bay of St. Andero, you will send a boat ashore, to purchase, at our expence, those provisions which are indispensably necessary for us."

Captain la Porte replied: " I have no vengeance to fear; I shall not send on shore; I shall not in any respect change the orders I have given; and I will have the first flogged with a cat-o'nine tails who importunes me with his remonstrances."

On the morning of the 9th October, we learnt by Aristides that we had at length doubled Cape Ortegal, and the evening of the same day, when Pichegru came down from above board, he told us we had lost sight of the coasts of Europe, and were steering to the northward with a fair wind. The corvette *la Vaillante* is a very good sailor, and made as much as 12 knots an hour

when we had a fresh breeze. And here let me observe a circumstance, which, however, is no otherwise remarkable than from its singular and unfortunate coincidence. I mean that Willot, when commandant at Bayonne, where this corvette was built, had been its godfather, and thus launched, as it were, from its cradle, that very ship on board of which he was now lingering in chains.

From the first day we were permitted to walk upon deck, we endeavoured to discover the dispositions of the crew, by observing their countenances. We already perceived, that Maître Dominique, who was first maître d'équipage, a man about 60 years of age, seemed affected whenever one of us came forth, like a spectre from the tomb; nor could he even fix his eyes upon us without evident marks of sensibility. We have often beheld him, sitting by the mainmast, shedding tears, as we walked to and fro. We learnt from Captain Hurto that it was Maître Dominique, who, when on watch in the night time, used to throw pieces of bread and

cheese below, although having lost all his teeth he deprived himself of his allowance of bread to give it to us. The first time he brought us hot water under pretence of cleaning the pump, we crowded round him to express our gratitude; and this man, whose tone was severe and even brutal to the sailors, this worthy man sunk almost senseless in our arms. "Ah, Sirs," cried he, "this voyage will cost me my life, because I am compelled to conceal my anguish."

Dominique was incessantly employed in procuring us some comfort or alleviation, though he had considerable difficulty in eluding the vigilance of the captain. It was Aristides that generally performed his commissions, and when he was not satisfied with his attention or acuteness, he beat the poor little fellow. We had the mortification to hear his cries on these occasions, and trembled lest this should betray the kindness of Dominique. In the mean while, the soldiers remarked the frequent visits of Aristides, reproached him with the care he took of us, and

beat him too: but this excellent lad said nothing, and made no complaints.

Dominique contrived sometimes to purchase bread and wine for us, for the former of which he paid 4 livres the pound, and as much per glass for the latter.

One day, he came to us sparkling with joy, and told M. de Marbois that he would provide us with a supper, desiring we would not eat the beans of our allowance. Accordingly, at midnight he sent us the back of a roast pig together with a loaf and some wine. This was assuredly his private stock, and the last resource of the worthy Dominique.

His active humanity, however, at length betrayed his secret, and he was discovered by the captain, who, in the presence of the whole crew, called him to give an account of his conduct, and threatened him with chains and death. We heard this scene. Dominique did not belie his general.

general character; he confessed all. "I regret," said he, with firmness, "that I could not offer the Gentlemen more. I would alleviate their sufferings even at the expence of my blood. Now order me to be shot immediately. What would you more? Order me to be shot."

The captain remained totally silent—and Lieutenant Dubourg took the part of Dominique; the second maître d'équipage, Chœpuiset, had participated in his honourable crimes; and perhaps la Porte was not so sure of his crew as of his soldiers. Dominique had taken charge of several letters for our families which have been faithfully delivered; but Heaven has robbed us of an opportunity of expressing our gratitude to this virtuous man, or rather has itself rewarded him. He died soon after the return of the Vaillante.

Our situation sometimes awakened emotions of tenderness in the hardest hearts. One day, the aged General Murinais was sitting by one of the chace guns on which he leaned,

and while the crew were at supper he was endeavouring to chew the bad biscuit that was given us: but having lost all his teeth, he could neither bite it nor soften it. The captain, passing near him, was suddenly struck with the fine countenance of this old man, whom the sailors beheld with involuntary respect. "I perceive," said he, "you cannot chew the biscuit. I will order you bread." But Murinais replied, with a firm and resolute voice: "No, Sir, I want nothing of you. Do your duty. I will not accept from you any preference. I will not have any thing in which my comrades do not participate. Leave me in peace."

About the 16th October, as we were abreast of the Azores, the wind blowing a heavy gale, and the sea being very rough, we fell in with a Portuguese ship from the Brazil coast, to which the captain gave chace, and took her. In manning her, the corvette suffered a violent shock, while Captain la Porte and his crew were plundering the unfortunate passengers. In the meanwhile the worthy Maître Dominique took advantage of

the general disorder to get us some provisions, and brought us some nuts of Para and cocoa nuts.

Nothwithstanding the occasional alleviations which the humanity of Captain Hurto and Maître Dominique, and the activity of Aristides procured us from time to time, we were cruelly tormented with hunger; and yet the disgust we felt for the black biscuit, which we could not break without meeting with large living worms, did not yield to our ravenous appetite. The large beans or gourganes were still more loathsome to us; for, whether from habitual filthiness or from intentional ill-will, they never brought us our bucket of food but we saw hairs and vermin swimming at top.

Ever since the violence of the illness, occasioned by the rolling of the ship, had ceased, the cruel famine that succeeded to it produced different effects in our wretched party. Most of us were extremely faint, weak, and almost totally exhausted; especially Tronçon du Coudray, Laffond Ladebat, and Barthélemy; while, on the con-

trary, Marbois, Willot, and Dossonville, had paroxysms of rage, and the coarse food which they eat in too small quantities, only excited their ravenous appetite. " The Directory, no doubt," said one of our fellow prisoners, " dine better " than we do," as he looked one day at the bucket of black beans.—" Yes," replied a man who overheard us, and who never spoke to us but this once, though I dare not name him; " yes, the Directors have a better dinner; yet I " doubt whether they dine with the same tran- " quillity, or whether they would shew the same " fortitude were they in your place."

A much more remarkable circumstance occurs to my recollection, when a single word made our ferocious captain shudder. Marbois was walking on the deck, and suffered so much from hunger that he could no longer contain himself. The captain happening to pass him— " I am hungry, I am hungry," cried Marbois, with a strong but altered voice, and fixing his eyes, which sparkled with rage, on la Porte, "

" am hungry; give me something to eat, or throw " me into the sea." Our Cerberus seemed petrified, and ordered some food to be given to Marbois.

Another time Willot, who was devouring with his eyes every thing he saw, bought of one of the sailors a pound of hog's-lard, which he immediately swallowed, and was afterwards extremely ill.

In this condition we arrived at the tropic. But the warmth of the climate in these smooth seas only added to the activity of our stomachs. The horrors of the famine we endured will never be effaced from my memory! The unfortunate Dossonville uttered such cries of rage, that we were afraid he would bite us. The crew having caught a large shark, the captain ordered the staff portion, that, is, the worst, to be given to us.

The oiliness, the unwholesomeness, and the hardness of digestion of this animal's flesh, is well known; but we were so famished, we could have

devoured the whole shark. Dominique sent us word to refuse this allowance, and at night conveyed us the best part of the shark, well seasoned with onions, pimento, and plenty of vinegar: Dossonville alone eat, for his share, six pounds of it with the most alarming voraciousness; in consequence of which, he was soon after almost at death's door.

We sometimes obtained these alleviations by other hands besides the generous Dominique; but in these cases we were sure to pay a very high price for them: for our sufferings were increased with a view to plunder us: thus Dossonville gave a very good blue surtout, which was quite new, for a loaf of three pounds weight.

About this time the impatience of Pichegru furnished Captain la Porte with a pretext to add to the vexations he inflicted on the four prisoners of the store-room. The cabin boy who waited on us, persisted, notwithstanding our prayers and menaces, in always bringing us our bucket of beans so filthy, that we could not touch them.

One day Pichegru, who was tormented with hunger, waited with impatience even for this coarse food, and when the boy brought the bucket, which was almost covered with hairs, pushed him. The boy fell into the bucket, and, being burned, cried aloud and called for help. Pichegru accused himself of the fact; but we would not allow that he alone was culpable, and the captain ordered us all four to be put in irons, and even, during the two first days, with both feet. In this condition we suffered very severely. We had now been in chains during six days, nor did the captain seem at all disposed to relieve us from them, when fear, the only motive that can operate on the wicked, compelled him to that measure.

Ever since the capture of the Portuguese ship, the crew had been discontented with the unfairness of the captain in dividing the booty. Some of the sailors complained aloud, and compassion for our fate was combined with their murmurs. We were placed among them on the forecastle, and they had before their eyes generals loaded with

irons : Pichegru in particular attracted their attention, and increased the concern they felt. On the seventh day the captain again sent us down into the store-room. This was certainly at that time a very necessary measure, for he had not a moment to lose.

A few days after, the Vaillante took another prize, an English ship bound from London to Antigua. On this occasion Captain la Porte seemed desirous of accommodating matters with his crew ; for he permitted, and even himself gave an example of the most insatiable plunder ; and an English colonel, a passenger on board this vessel, having demanded his portmanteau to be restored to him, was put into the store-room with us for several days.

After having passed the tropic, a Swedish vessel bound for St. Bartholomew took to flight before the Vaillante, and we could not join her till five o'clock in the afternoon, when the worthy Leiutenant Dubourg, the man whom we had observed to be affected at our wretched condition,

tion, was ordered to visit that ship. When he returned, he assured the captain, that her documents were perfectly regular. He added, "It is the same ship that lay near us in the road of Blaye, when we moored there, and has a great number of French West India planters on board, whom the law of the 19th Fructidor has obliged to quit France."—"And do you call this ship regular?" cried la Porte, in a rage. "A Royalist could not say more—Go," said he, to another officer, "visit the ship again, and if there be any person on board who is condemned to deportation, it will be a lawful prize." Fortunately there were none of them on board; but it will scarcely be believed, that, in order to be certain of this, by comparing the muster-role with the proscription-lists, this wretch asked us to lend him the Bulletin of the Laws, in which that sanguinary decree was detailed at full length, togethe with our pretended condemnation, and the fatal lists.

We had now been forty days at sea, and by the reckoning we were very near North Cape,

although we had as yet observed no change in the colour of the water. Being quite becalmed, and the excessive heat completely overpowering us, Aubry, almost destitute of life, was groaning and complaining in a low voice, and, after enumerating our various miseries, "Alas!" cried he, "why has he not thrown us into the sea?"—"You are perfectly at liberty to do so," said the captain, who, though unknown to us, was near, "and you will give me pleasure. I will order a ladder to assist you to get upon deck."

At length, on the 50th morning, at day-break, we heard a cry of "*Land! Land!*" which seemed to reanimate us with a sensation of new life. This was the first ray of hope that had dawned upon us since the 4th September, the day of our arrestation. Our executioner had even made us ardently desire the land of banishment.

When we went upon deck, we perceived the continent, and a land which was higher than the rest of the coast, and which was thought to be North Cape, though as yet an undistinguish-

ed mass. This confused appearance was, however, sufficient to satisfy our impatience, and our imaginations already penetrated the forests before us; and, presenting to our minds the idea of an asylum, drew a picture of our retreat, which it even adorned with the sweets of peace and comfort. "At length," we said, "we shall escape from the presence of our tyrants, we shall range at liberty over a land where we shall find some consolation in our misery, and, perhaps, some new friends. Our persecutors will be satisfied with having placed the ocean between them and us; they will think themselves safe and sufficiently revenged by our forlorn and deserted condition, and the profound oblivion that awaits us."

To quit the Vaillante, to eat our fill and to drink fresh water, now seemed to us the supreme good, for we were in an agony of hunger and thirst. Marbois, who had formerly been intendant of St. Domingo, and was perfectly acquainted with the productions of that country, talked

of nothing but the delicious fruits we were about to taste, and supported our expiring frames by these sweet illusions; illusions which the land breezes seemed to realize, by wafting even to our blunted senses, the perfumes of lemon trees and pine-apples.

At 5 o'clock in the afternoon of the 10th October, the Vaillante moored in the great road of Cayenne, in sight of the town, which was distant from us about 3 leagues. From this time we had permission to walk upon deck at all hours, but the captain again renewed his prohibition to the crew, to hold any conversation with us. He immediately communicated our arrival to Jeannet, the agent of the Directory, who discharged the functions of the former office of governor of Cayenne.

In the forenoon of the 11th October, a schooner commanded by a trading captain, Desperoux, came to carry us on shore. La Porte was much surprised the agent-general had not ordered him to land us himself, and the orders he at the same time received to remain at his moorings, without

coming any nearer the island of Cayenne, and his prohibition to hold any communication with the land, or to suffer any of his crew to quit the ship under pain of death, gave him great uneasiness. He said, he would not deliver us up to any officer but the agent himself, and we afterwards learnt from Maître Dominique, that suspecting Jeannet to be already too well informed of the recent events, he was on the point of weighing anchor and sailing for Guadaloupe, to consign us to the celebrated Victor Hugues, that tyrant of the Caribbee islands.

The order however, was positive, and he was forced to relinquish his prey. He caused us to be escorted by a detachment of his marines, who were to accompany us to the shore and then take leave of us. As we went on board the vessel that was to convey us thither, we received at once the last frowns of this enraged tiger, and the blessings of Dominique, expressed by the tears that trickled down his cheeks.

The vessel moored at a cannon shot from the

land, whither we went in some shallops that came to meet us. We disembarked with great difficulty on a rocky shore, where the sea which had a great swell, broke with violence opposite the hospital, which is a very fine edifice built on the edge of the sea at the northernmost extremity of the Savannah.

A great crowd of people came out to meet us, among whom were all the magistrates and the chief inhabitants of Cayenne. We could easily perceive by the impression we made on them, that it was not curiosity alone that brought them out. The commandant of the troops, Desvieux, received us with a guard of negroes in very good order, and conducted us to the hospital, behaving to us, at least, with politeness. He permitted the principal inhabitants, who crowded round us, to give us their arms, and we felt that we were again among human beings and among Frenchmen. At the hospital we found the agent of the Directory, Jeannet, with his secretary Mauduit, and as soon as we were called

over he gave Captain Hurto a receipt for 16 deported persons.

As Jeannet received us in the upper gallery of the hospital, he could not help letting some tears escape him. " Gentlemen," said he, " you must have suffered severely : 'tis easy to perceive it ; I have ordered an apartment to be prepared for you, which however confined it may appear, is the best I can offer you at present : but it is in the most healthy situation, and that which is the most adapted to your rank. You are under the care of the respectable sisters of the charity, who will not suffer you to want for any thing, and I shall myself see that you are provided with food and refreshments. Rely upon it, that as far as I can act from myself, you shall have reason to be satisfied with your treatment."

He withdrew without giving any orders or instructions that could at all constrain us, and without even desiring us not to go into the town.

So sudden a change in our situation, the compassionate attentions of these worthy sisters, and the fresh provisions and fruits we eat, restored us once more to life, and we doubted not that as soon as we should have recovered our health, we should, as far as the words of the law of the 19th Fructidor would permit, be left entire masters of our persons and of our liberty. We were confirmed in this opinion by the character of the lying reports we had read, and in which the triumphant minority of both Councils endeavoured to conceal from their subjugated colleagues, the injustice and barbarity of a proscription *en masse*, by representing it as a mere banishment. I even heard several of our companions, and especially Laffond, regret that they had not their wives and children with them, that they might voluntarily settle in this colony, since it seemed to enjoy that tranquillity which had been so long banished from the mother country.

But these conciliatory dreams of happiness were, alas! soon dispelled. The next day the com-

commandant, Jeannet, effaced by a total change of conduct, the momentary effect of his transient humanity:—a change, the cruelty and criminality of which was increased by the delusive hopes he had awakened beyond the mere renewal of our torments.

This part of our unfortunate history would be equally unintelligible to the reader, as was the conduct of Jeannet to ourselves, were I not here to relate the causes of this change, which we afterwards learnt from credible witnesses, whose benevolence and courage were unable to meliorate our lot, and whose names it is my duty to conceal as well as the various benefits conferred on us, though both are equally engraved upon my heart.

And here I will first endeavour to describe the person of this strange proconsul. Jeannet is a nephew of Danton, of about 40 years of age. His external appearance is agreeable, his manners polite, and his countenance intelligent and ani-

mated. He is lame in one arm, but otherwise very well made.

Jeannet belonged to the formidable faction which oppressed the legislative body in 1792, overturned the throne, and together with the executive power, destroyed the monarchical constitution. I do not give credit to the accounts of those, whom I have heard accuse Jeannet of being an accomplice with the greatest criminals, merely in order to blacken his past life. I only believe, that he served the faction of his uncle in order that the latter might be able to reward him. He was appointed governor of Cayenne soon after the meeting of the Convention.

The flourishing state of the colony, and the good order he has maintained there, are sufficient proofs of his abilities. His administration has always been firm, and his conduct towards the planters just, though he kept them in a state of dependance ; and the inhabitants confess, that through the terror of the negroes, whom he kept in subjection, while at the same time he acquired

their love, they were indebted to him for the preservation of their property.

When Danton was accused by his rival, and together with his party fell beneath the tyranny of Robespierre, Jeannet having refused to proclaim the liberty of the negroes, was obliged to leave the colony and retire to the United States.

On his return to France, after the 9th Thermidor, he was reinstated in his office, shortly after the installation of the Directory. The planters received him with joy, and he justified their confidence by repressing the terrorists. The conventionalists Billaud de Varennes and Collot d'Herbois, who had been deported to Cayenne, were then enjoying their liberty there, and instead of expiating their crimes, meditated new ones, under the auspices of a commandant who was worthy of acting under such leaders. The unexpected return, however, of Jeannet, prevented the conspiracy from bursting forth, which had originated with the negroes, and was directed by Collot

d'Herbois, for the massacre of all the whites. A negro woman who discovered this plot, came and revealed it; upon which Jeannet arrested and sent to the fort of Sinamary, Collot d'Herbois and his colleague Billaud de Varennes, though it is said the latter was not one of the conspirators. He could not however prevent the rebellion of the negroes, nor was it repressed till after a great carnage of them had taken place. Collot d'Herbois having fallen ill soon after, was carried to the hospital of Cayenne where he died. Billaud de Varennes is still at Sinamary.

These circumstances show that Jeannet, who was connected with the party of the 9th Thermidor, was strongly adverse to the anarchists. Hence adopting that line of conduct, which his friends ought to have pursued in France, he connected himself with all the good citizens by that common interest, which arose from supporting the new laws. Thus he protected property, and, notwithstanding the complete execution of the decrees for the liberty of

the negroes, he was able to keep them to their work.

The care which he took to make property respected is not, however, wholly free from interested motives: for he is accused of rapacity; he raises arbitrary impositions, of which he renders no account; he indiscriminately seizes all vessels that come into his hands, whether those of allies, of neutral powers, or of enemies; he confiscates like a corsair, and shares the booty like a robber; he has appropriated to himself, as national domains, the possession of the finest estates that have been confiscated or sequestrated. He pays particular attention to the cultivation of the estate of General la Fayette, called la Gabrielle, which is said to have brought him in 300,000 livres; and the plantation of the Jesuits, the Royal plantation, and that of Beauregard, swell the revenue of this satrap.

Having obtained these advantages, and possessing these qualifications, when Jeannet saw the republican government acquire solidity, he

was far from believing a new system of terror would take place. The news of the events of the 18th Fructidor, which he had learnt before our arrival by an American ship on which he laid an embargo, and the names of the principal actors, Augereau, Sotin, &c. alarmed him so much, that he was on the point a second time of quitting the colony. The term of his appointment being expired, he doubted not but some friend of Billaud de Varennes would arrive to succeed him, and he imagined h saw the manes of the execrable Collot rise before him : but the inhabitants urged him to stay and wait for further information.

The account which Lieutenant Dubourg must have given at the time of our arrival, the picture of the evils we had suffered, which, no doubt, his humanity induced him to represent to Jeannet, apparently confirmed his first impressions, and procured us the good reception we met with at the hospital.

Captain la Porte, however, enraged at the insulting precautions of the agent of the govern-

ment, which were more galling to him, as he knew he enjoyed the confidence of the Directory, did not give up the contest, but wrote to Jeannet, insisting on seeing him, in order personally to deliver the letters and instructions of which he was the bearer. Jeannet, deceived by the revolutionists by whom he was surrounded, as, for instance, his secretary Mauduit, and the port-captain Malvin, could not refuse this request. He therefore permitted Captain la Porte to come on shore, and invited him to dinner.

We saw him arrive, about four o'clock in the afternoon, in his long-boat, and shuddered at the sight.

As it was in consequence of this dinner party that our ruin was determined, the account we heard of it deserves some attention.

While Jeannet read his dispatches, la Porte added to the text the most perfidious comments; in which he was supported by other counsellors still more perfidious than himself. " These

villains," said he, "whom I have brought hither, had already lighted up a civil war in France, where they massacred the republicans with impunity." We were all sold, he said, to the princes; we were all for proclaiming a King; we were still in hopes of reviving the party. We had contrived means of carrying on intelligence at Cayenne; we had still those of effecting a revolution in favour of Louis XVIII, and the Directory had information of the fact.

These calumnies silenced the worthy magistrates who were present, and emboldened the revolutionists, who did not wait till the agent-general had expressed his sentiments, to break out against us.

Jeannet, however, still kept, as it were, on the defensive, and seemed to capitulate with his conscience. He perused the list of the deported, and, fixing his eye on the conventionalists, against whom, perhaps, he felt an old party rancour, said, "I see but a small number of culprits. The more I read and reflect on my dispatches, the

the less am I able to understand them." He twice interrupted the declamations of la Porte, to speak of the dreadful state in which we were. "Is it not true, captain," said he, "that these gentlemen have suffered severely?"—"Yes," replied la Porte, insolently, "yes, they have suffered; and had I executed my orders, I should not have brought one of them alive."

The next day (the 18th November) we were forbid to go out of our rooms, and were closely watched. No pretext whatever, no wants we experienced, could for a moment save us from this importunate vigilance. From that time the inhabitants were forbid to hold any communication with us. Some of them, however, braved the danger of violating these rigorous orders, and others conveyed us some refreshments.

A Mulatto woman, of about forty years of age, named Marie Rose, who was very rich, and much respected by all the colony, on account of her piety and humanity, which she was ever actively exerting, particularly distinguished herself

by her assiduity in sending and even bringing every thing she knew we wanted, or which she imagined would be agreeable to us. She was so often with the good sisters of the charity, that the prohibition of communicating with us could not reach her. The hospital, indeed, was, as it were, the favourite habitation of Marie Rose, and her visits there were more frequent in proportion as our condition became more miserable. This lively concern, which she took in our fate, never abated. It was to Pichegru she always delivered her little presents; and the general never failed to divide them with his companions in misfortune, who participated in the gratitude due to this excellent woman.

Marbois, Tronçon du Coudray, and Murinais, asked for permission to walk out; in consequence of which we were allowed that liberty for an hour, morning and evening, attended by a guard, on the Savannah, as far as the walls of the town. Desvieux himself superintended this duty. This man had used abusive language to Marie Rose, and would have shot two serjeants of the regi-

ment of Alsace, because Marbois having addressed them in German, they had entered into conversation with him: nor would the lives of these two poor fellows have been saved, without the solicitations of a great number of the inhabitants. Desvieux made Jeannet himself tremble, and considered the concern, which the sisters of the charity took in our fate, during the short space of time we were among them, as an unpardonable crime. "Your deported men," said he, with emphasis, to the governess, "are *lost*; they are lost, I say; and if they do not go off soon of themselves, we shall find means to dispatch them." This Desvieux is an old captain of cavalry, who was formerly aide-de-camp to M. de Boufflers, and is said to belong to an old family, whose profession was that of the bar.

Thus passed the few first days that followed our landing; and, notwithstanding these new rigours, we still entertained hopes that the law would be executed, and that we should be left at peace within the limits of our banishment. But our fate was not yet decided. The inhabitants asked

for permission to receive us at their houses; but Jeannet answered, that he could not separate us, nor incur the risk of disturbing the tranquillity of the colony. At first, it is said, he determined to place us at the old plantation of the Jesuits.

At this the terrorists made an outcry, and demanded the same favour for Billaud de Varennes, and reproached Jeannet with keeping him in prison notwithstanding the orders of the Directory, which declared that he should be at liberty to go at large throughout the territory of the colony.

This weak and cowardly proconsul yielded to their remonstrances, and, with the same hand which we had seen a few days before wiping away the tears of compassion, signed the barbarous order for our second deportation.

In the morning of the 18th November we received notice to be in readiness to go to the canton of Sinamary.

Our members of the Council of Elders proposed to protest against this extension of a law which was in itself a violation of all laws: but those of the Council of Five Hundred thought this would be in some measure to acknowledge the legality of the act of proscription, and that of the agents employed in its execution. They preferred yielding a passive obedience, and I was myself of this opinion. To this Jeannet only answered in the negative, by the intervention of a commissary of the navy. He never replied directly to any of the deported, and he forbad the furnishing us with copies of the letters and orders he ordered to be communicated to us.

Those of our number who were most indisposed, and seemed unable to bear the fatigues of deportation, remonstrated in vain, and the old General Murinais, not being able to obtain permission to remain at the hospital, was quite in despair. He therefore determined to write separately to Jeannet. "Order an account to be given you," said he, "of the state I am in. Your order is to me a death warrant." But Jeannet

was deaf to the prayers of all the inhabitants, and insensible to the tears of the good sisters of the hospital. In short, we were compelled to go.

We now took leave of the worthy Captain Hurto, who had also pleaded our cause to the utmost of his power; and of Maître Dominique, who passed two days with us, during which he gave us new proofs of his generous attachment.

At eight o'clock in the morning of the 22d November we were embarked on board the schooner the Victory, some shallops taking us on board at the same spot where we had landed when we quitted the Vaillante. It was determined to avoid taking us through the town, but all the inhabitants ran in crowds to the banks, and gave us the most affecting proofs of their sensibility. The women and children were in tears, and it is impossible to describe this heart-rending scene. We had no friends, and were surrounded by these worthy inhabitants, being only attended by the commandant Desvieux, who, in the presence

of this oppressed people, feigned an extreme politeness towards us. Jeannet did not appear.

When the schooner weighed anchor, our regret at being thus torn away from these soothing consolations, the sight of the crowd upon the shore extending their hands towards us, or raising them towards Heaven, their cries, and their parting adieus, almost broke our hearts.

The worthy Captain Bracket, who commanded the schooner, did his utmost to alleviate the pain of this separation, and lavished on us every attention and the refreshments he had provided. He appeared so anxious to serve us, that I doubt not, had we proposed to him to rescue us, he would have done it; for we had no other guard than three men and a captain, and the ship was only navigated by four sailors and a boatswain, who, in all probability, would not have opposed him. We were sixteen in number, and the cabin, in which we were, was full of arms, that lay spread about. This idea did not then strike any of us, and we were all resigned to our fate. We had

also been flattered with an assurance that if the canton of Sinamary was not the most populous, it was at least the most healthy, and one of the most fertile parts of the colony. We were taught to expect we should there find an abundance of provisions, and that we should at length enjoy our liberty.

The river of Sinamary is 30 leagues to the eastward of the island of Cayenne, and the winds and the currents were both in our favour. We had weighed anchor at noon, and we moored about eight o'clock in the evening at the mouth of the river, after having doubled *les Isles au Diable*. Captain Bracket would have moored nearer the shore, in order that we might land before night; but, as the posts were not apprized of our voyage, the battery on the east point fired at us with ball, and therefore we were obliged to stay all night on board.

At day-break on the 23d November we landed under the redoubt of the point. The commandant of the canton, M. de ***, captain of the regiment

regiment of Alsace, was on the beach to receive us. "Here," said the commandant of our escort, "are the persons condemned to deportation; and here is the provisory order of the agent-general respecting them."—"The condemned!" replied the officer, "these gentlemen have not been tried. 'Tis infamous to send them hither." This speech, and the honest emphasis with which he uttered it, caused this officer to be shortly after cashiered and expelled from the colony. I hope, however, this unjust action may have saved his life; for he is a young man, and his health was already impaired by the climate.

About an hundred paces from the sea-side, leaving the redoubt and the signal mast to the right, we came in front of Mr. Kormann's house, which is a crazy insulated hut, where it could scarcely be conceived any man would voluntarily reside: this was the only habitation we could perceive in this vast desert, and was situated on the banks of the Sinamary, which are covered with wood, and obstructed with branches of trees

and shrubs rotting in the mud, and infecting the air with noxious exhalations.

As we stopped before this hut to ask for fresh water, M. Kormann, who was a man of about thirty years of age, but apparently more broken than Europeans generally are at sixty, came to salute us, and said, with a feeble voice, "Ah, gentlemen, you are come into a tomb!"—"We know it," replied General Murinais, "and the sooner the better." Such were the omens that attended our arrival on the continent of South America!

We walked on a burning soil, and pursued a narrow path on the bank of the river, a league up the country. I had great difficulty in dragging myself along after my companions, who were all overpowered with fatigue. None of us had yet recovered the fatigues of our voyage sufficiently to bear those of this long journey, and I had spit blood during several days.

At length we arrived before the fort of Sina-

mary, which did not become visible till we were within musket shot of it.

This fort is built of planks, and pallisadoed; but has no outworks. It is a square building, each side being about 100 toises (200 yards), is flanked by four bastions, and surrounded by a large fosse, filled with water from the river; so that the fort is completely insulated.

As we entered it, we too clearly perceived, that no hope remained of enjoying, even in these deserts, the least shadow of liberty. That loss was here consummated.

It now remains for me to pourtray the refinement of cruelty with which, even in this prison, our persecutors harrassed the miserable remnant of our existence; the insatiable rage of our executioners; the patience and constancy of their victims; the agonies of those of our companions who died in our arms; of those who are still struggling with a less rapid, though not a

less inevitable fate: and, lastly, to relate the miracle of our escape.

However small was the theatre on which these horrid scenes passed, I must begin by describing it.

The barracks for the garrison, the apartments of the commandant, and a few huts for the settlers, occupy the curtain to the right which looks to the river. The garrison consisted of eighty men, half whites, half blacks; being a detachment of the old regiment of Alsace, which had been almost entirely renewed since its arrival in Guyana.

The curtain on the opposite side is the old chapel, which the white revolutionists devastated, but which the negroes still respect.

By this chapel is a corridor, under which are built eight miserable rooms, formerly used as prisons for fugitive negroes and criminals.

Opposite the entrance of the fort is the apartment of the keeper of the stores. The platforms of the bastions are occupied by magazines of provisions and of ammunition; and one of the four (that looking to the northward, and near the river) is the guard-house. The remaining space, in the middle of the fort, is planted with orange trees. The fort is provided with arms, and well kept up.

At first the commandant conducted us to the corridor, and, shewing us the rooms, said to us, "there are the lodgings appointed for you." Billaud de Varennes occupied one of these rooms; the other seven were to be divided between the sixteen deported persons, and, according to this unequal proportion, to receive a larger or a smaller number.

The commandant, addressing himself to M. de Murinais, as the eldest of us, pointed to one of the rooms which was to contain only one prisoner, and said, "this room will do for you."— "Lead me," replied the old general, "to that

which is nearest to the cemetery; for that will suit me best."

After having obliged our worthy general to go into this first room alone, the others were divided between the remaining fifteen. Fortune separated us as follows:

2nd, Aubry alone.

3d, Pichegru and Marbois.

4th, Willot, la Rue, and Dossonville.

5th, Bourdon and Rovère.

6th, Laffond, Tronçon du Coudray, and Barthélemy.

7th, Brothier, la Vilheurnois, le Tellier, and Ramel.

The commandant ordered a hammock for each of us; for these dungeons contained neither bed, table, nor chair, nor any one piece of furniture or utensil.

Our only food was an allowance of biscuit, a pound of salt meat, and a glass of rum, to cor-

rect the extreme bad quality of the water. Sometimes we had bread that we could not eat, because it was full of worms and ants, and some portions of wine that had grown sour in the magazines.

As we could not eat altogether, nor in one of the rooms, nor out of one bowl, we divided into messes. It was not, however, by chance that these parties were determined, but the coincidence of our ages and opinions.

1st mess—Marbois, Tronçon du Coudray, Barthélemy, Laffond, Murinais, le Tellier.

2d mess—Pichegru, Willot, de la Rue, Aubry, Dossonville, Ramel.

3d mess—Bourdon, Rovère.

4th mess—Brothier, la Vilheurnois.

This arrangement, however, was soon disturbed by the most melancholy events: Marbois was desirous of having his mess separate; Barthélemy and le Tellier joined in the mess to which I belonged; and the Abbé Brothier joined with Billaud de Varennes.

These associations having had some influence on our happiness, I could not avoid taking notice of their formation.

One negro alone prepared the soup for all four messes. Every one attended to it, and fetched away his share. This execrable cook had been sent from Cayenne, where he had been taken on purpose from the house of correction. He threatened twenty times to poison us.

Those of us who were sick were attended by two old negro women; a third, whose husband was in the fort, and whom the worthy Marie Rose had sent as a person in whose goodness she could rely, waited on General Pichegru. I have read with the utmost indignation the calumnies that have been spread abroad, to deprive us of the concern which humanity naturally feels for misfortune, and the respect due to innocence, when it has not fallen from its dignity. Let our persecutors, at least, leave us the enjoyment of this consolation!

In

In the fort we were prisoners; I never quitted it but once, and that, as I hope, never to re-enter it. We were called out twice every day, first at nine in the morning, and again at four in the afternoon.

Our first occupation was to clean out our rooms, which were full of venomous insects, that rendered them uninhabitable, although we had no other shelter. No European, perhaps, had ever before been thrown into such a den, in such a climate, there to be given as a prey to scorpions, millepedes, gnats, mosquitos, and many other species of insects, equally numerous, dangerous, and disgusting! We were not even secure from the serpents that frequently crept into the fort. Pichegru found one of uncommon size, which he killed; it was thicker than his arm, and lay concealed in the folds of his cloak, which served him for a pillow to his hammock.

The insect that tormented us most severely was the chica, or niguas, a species of bug, which enters the pores of the skin, and, if it is not care-

fully removed, breeds there, and destroys the flesh so rapidly, as to render amputation necessary. We were covered with pimples and pustules, which deprived us of sleep, overwhelmed us with fatigue, and plunged us in the deepest dejection. Some of us had received, during our journey from the Temple to Rochefort, clothes, linen and money; but others, and myself among the number, were totally destitute; our precipitate embarkation having disappointed the vigilance of our families. Jeannet sent us some shirts and handkerchiefs, taken from the magazines from which the negroes are supplied.

Such was our situation at Sinamary! In the fort there were no other inhabitants than the garrison and a store-keeper named Moigestein, a very good kind of man, who would have served us had it been in his power. The black soldiers of the garrison seemed more civil, or, rather, were less harsh towards us than the whites, who were a remnant of the regiment of Alsace, that preserve their old discipline, but who were kept in a state of servile fear. The surgeon of the

canton of Sinamary, whose name is Cabrol, is a man full of humanity, but very infirm, and could rarely come out to visit the sick. We sometimes saw the mayor of the canton, Vogel, formerly a gentleman of Lorraine, who made us ineffectual offers of service.

These were the extent of our communications with mankind : for I take no account of Billaud de Varennes, with whom our jailors endeavoured to assimilate us. This consideration, indeed, only made us regard him with the more disgust. It is true, we avoided humiliating him or aggravating his misfortunes; but the Abbé Brothier alone was able to overcome the horror of this monstrous association, and formed an acquaintance with Billaud de Varennes.

I shall not attempt to speak of the country round the fort, and which is properly called the canton of Sinamary. I have often heard of several considerable Indian villages, which are said to be situated some leagues inland, and the inhabitants of which sometimes come to sell fruits and

vegetables. The plantations, that are situated higher up the river, and would together form a kind of hamlet, are said to be in a fertile tract; yet the unwholesomeness of the climate has reduced the Frenchmen, who established themselves there in the last century, to a very small number. This is all I know on the subject; and all I saw from the ramparts of our prison was a vast, and apparently impenetrable, forest. The mournful howlings of tigers that came within musket shot of the fort, the shrill and piercing screams of monkies, the discordant notes of parrots, and the croaking of venomous toads, of which the fosses and the muddy banks of the river were full, rendered this scene a wilderness of horror.

The fifth day after our arrival Lieutenant Aimé relieved M. de ***, and took the command of the fort: a change which proved a great misfortune to our party.

At the beginning of the revolution this Aimé was a lackey in a family at Nancy, where he be-

came one of the principal ringleaders of the disturbances that desolated that city, and of the revolt of the King's regiment and that of Châteauvieux, which the national guards repressed. He then inlisted in the regiment of Alsace, in which he rose to the rank of an officer. Jeannet could not have selected a more barbarous jailor.

Aimé immediately gave new orders, and daily invented additional restraints. He prohibited the soldiers from speaking to us under pain of death, and ordered the alarm to be beat every morning before our dungeons: nor could we ever obtain the reversion of this cruel order, which was a dreadful torment to the sick among us. It seemed as if he regretted that sleep should sometimes procure us a momentary suspension of our misfortunes. The drummer, or, rather, the vulture, he selected for this purpose, added insult to injury. He hollowed aloud and burst into a laugh, whenever we asked him to take pity on the anguish of our sick friends. The most temperate among us were frequently obliged to restrain the most violent, who were for throwing

this wretch into the fosse. Our musters also were performed with the greatest rigour, and, if any of us had not been found in his room, he would have been put in irons.

A few days after the arrival of the new commandant, M. de Murinais was taken ill. This was in the beginning of December, and I believe on the second or third day of the month. He became insensible almost at the very moment when he was attacked; we were unable to afford him any relief, and before the express, which was sent to Cayenne to inform Jeannet of his situation, arrived there, our unfortunate friend was no more. Till the last moment of his life this worthy veteran gave us an example of fortitude and resignation. A total stranger to the intrigues in which it was pretended he was implicated, in order to have a more illustrious or a purer victim to immolate, he never complained of his fate, of his separation from a numerous family, or of the loss of his large fortune: he only felt indignant that his word, or the fidelity with which he was resolved to discharge the duty

confided to him should be doubted. What a dreadful scene was this first separation! I was myself almost in a dying state, and it was already the opinion of my fellow-prisoners, that the youngest of us would follow the oldest. I collected all my strength however, and crawled to the general's room, where I found him suspended in his hammock. At this time no one was near him. He lay extended with his mouth open and parched, and I endeavoured to give him drink; but he was struggling with death, and expired a few moments after. What a forlorn and deserted situation for a father of a family in the last moments of his life!

M. de Murinais was buried without the fort. We made some pious preparations for his funeral, and I must confess, I derived new strength from the exertions to which this miserable scene gave birth.

The effects of M. de Murinais were put under seal and publicly sold in the fort. On this occasion the justice of the peace having read the

title of *Citizen* in the preamble, which he read in the presence of the commandant; "*erase that title*," said Aimé; "*those rascals do not deserve it.*"

Within a week after the death of M. de Murinais, Barthélemy was taken ill, and apparently in an equally serious manner. Fortunately, however, there was time to send to Cayenne, to inform Jeannet, who sent a schooner to convey him to the hospital. We took a final leave of him, for we did not expect ever to see him more. His faithful le Tellier obtained permission to accompany him.

Notwithstanding the certainty that we were now buried alive, notwithstanding the fatal presages that surrounded us, each of us fortified his mind with resolution and nerved himself against the hard law of necessity. Political discussions and individual conversations filled up much of our time, and our common misfortunes were inexhaustible sources of reflection and communication.

cation. God forbid I should here relate all the disputes of which I was witness! When men, whose opinions, professions, talents and interests were as different as their ages and their passions, are thus reduced to the tedious monotony of unvarying misery, their relative situation produces a constantly changing picture, which however interesting and instructive, I shall not here attempt to pourtray. Notwithstanding the confusion which the leaders of the revolution of the 18th Fructidor were induced to excite, in order to create motives and pretexts of vengeance, the various parts certain members took in the events which preceded that catastrophe are well known; and not even in the passive inactivity of common adversity can those minds harmonize, whose judgments and views have been so discordant when in action. I shall therefore confine myself to saying, that each of us contrived occupations for himself, or sought for amusements according to his own various habits and inclinations.

Marbois, the serenity of whose mind seemed to proportion itself without exertion to the mul-

tiplicity of our misfortunes, exhibited so much calmness and equanimity, that those who were not well acquainted with him, those who had not heard him pronounce the words *dear Sophia* to his wife, might have imagined he was destitute of sensibility. He knew how to employ the unwelcome leisure of imprisonment, and vary his pursuits, better than any of us, and having caused books to be purchased for him he read a great deal. He also worked with his hands, and that always for some useful or agreeable purpose for our unfortunate community ; he formed, and that with great neatness, the furniture and utensils he most needed, and even contrived to make a violin, with which he set the negroes, who were very fond of him, to dance. One of them who had been at St. Domingo during his administration, had talked much of him to his comrades, and they all highly respected him. Marbois also undertook to clear the orange tree walks, which were very much encumbered with obstructions. In this work he induced the negroes to assist, and thus rendered the only walk we had agreeable.

Tronçon du Coudray, with equal fortitude to that of his friend, supported, like the rest of us, our present evils without complaint, and contemplated the vile instruments of our misfortunes with contempt. But he could neither preserve the calmness of his mind, nor be master of himself, nor keep silence relative to the events of the 18th Fructidor. That audacious tissue of crimes, and the impunity that attended them, still irritated his temper as much as the first day of his fall; and he was still more enraged at the injustice which the Directory had exercised with such unparallelled effrontery, even taking things on their own grounds. He demanded his accusation, and asked for judges even of the echos of Sinamary. He wrote memorials, and applied with so much assiduity, that he did not take any relaxation, and his health was impaired by his constant study. He wrote a funeral eulogium on his colleague General Murinais, and assembled us to hear him pronounce it. This he did with the same solemnity and graceful eloquence that he displayed at the tribune of the Council of Elders, and all the soldiers of the garrison, all the negroes came

to hear him. He took for his text: *Super flumina Babylonis, illic sedimus et flevimus, donec recordâmur Sion.* "By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down, yea, we wept, when we remembered Sion." His affecting eloquence, his full and harmonious voice, the animated picture he drew of the miseries of our native country, the brilliant glory with which he emblazoned the courage, the loyalty, the innocence, and the virtue of the deceased veteran, called forth tears from all our eyes, and the soldiers and negroes, who soon began to be affected, were at length so powerfully agitated that the fort re-echoed with their lamentations. In consequence of this incident Jeannet caused notice to be given, that whosoever should endeavour by his discourse to excite the pity of the soldiers or the negroes for the fate of the deported, should be instantly shot.

Laffond bore the marks of the deepest dejection, and his mind was constantly occupied with the confusion into which his arrestation must have thrown his own commercial house, and

those of his friends and correspondents, especially since he had lost all means of corresponding with them, whereby he might possibly have formed at Cayenne, with the credit he could have procured there, new plans and undertakings, equally advantageous to his unfortunate country and to himself. He lived very retired, and talked of nothing but his family, his six children, and his wife, whose portrait he was continually contemplating.

Pichegru still retained his accustomed firmness, and shewed that confidence, that presentiment, as it were, of future amelioration, which naturally communicates itself to others, and in which I loved to participate. His principal occupation was learning English; and he preserved, amidst all his amusements and pursuits, his military tone and manners, by which he endeavoured to overcome the tedious monotony of imprisonment. He was often singing, and we sang together, especially such fragments as were applicable to our situation; not plaintive or romantic effusions, but such as abounded in the

energy of vehement expression, or awakened military ardour.

Barthélemy, though so sickly, and so ailing, that even his existence was a miracle, in the continuance of which he had himself believed as little as his proscribers, possessed an internal principle of life, and a strength of mind, which the calmness of his external appearance would scarcely have given room to suspect; but which showed itself with energy on every occasion. In the early part of our imprisonment in the fort, and previous to his being removed to the hospital at Cayenne, he undertook, together with le Tellier, the employment most useful to our miserable colony; that of continually destroying the scorpions, and the various insects that harrassed and devoured us.

I would willingly thus record some traits of each of my fellow-prisoners; but, to avoid deviating with unnecessary minuteness into a train of circumstances, which already vanish from my memory, I shall limit myself to pourtraying the

principal individuals of this picture of misery; particularly our warriors and old men: contenting myself with introducing, in the back ground, all their companions in misfortune, who, like myself, have less claim to attract individual attention.

But I cannot pass over in silence the infamous conduct and language of Brothier, whose intimacy with Billaud de Varennes I have already mentioned. I must separate from the picture him whom our contempt separated from our company. I shall pourtray that miscreant priest with one stroke of my pen, or rather with that of his colleague, la Vilheurnois, who, after a violent dispute with him, during which the grossest abuse had not been spared, struck and beat the abbé. Hearing a disturbance, we ran to the room in which they were. "Leave it to me, gentlemen," said Vilheurnois, "to punish this contemptible fellow, for he stands much in need of correction. If you knew him well, you would thank me, for he is a friend of discord; and the Abbé Maury only spoke the truth, when

he wrote to the Princes—*That if they wanted to throw every thing into confusion, they could not do better than employ the* Abbé Brothier ; *for he would introduce discord among the Angels of Heaven.*"

In the beginning of January Willot and Bourdon were taken ill, and we applied, in vain, to procure them the same favour that Barthélemy had already obtained, and which, I doubt not, saved his life ; for it was impossible he should meet with more salutary attentions, or more soothing consolations, than by being in the hands of the worthy sisters of that charity, and their kind-hearted friend Marie Rose. Jeannet, however, would never consent to Willot and Bourdon being removed to Cayenne, for he knew that at Sinamary death was inevitable. The unfortunate Bourdon died, some time after, of a violent fever, which the heat of his blood, and his continual rage against his old colleagues, constantly increased. Willot was at the last extremity ; and we endeavoured to compensate, by unremitting attention, for the total want of every other relief.

Nor

Nor can I forget the zeal and affectionate assiduity with which Marbois, who, in a violent political dispute, had reason to complain of Willot, waited on him during his illness, prepared his victuals, and deprived himself of his best food during his fellow-prisoner's convalescence.

Towards the end of January, Barthélemy contrived to inform us, that an American vessel had arrived with the most afflicting news from France. The usurpation of the Republic was completed; all good citizens oppressed; the revolutionary laws rigorously enforced; and the tribunals of blood re-established, under the name of military commissions. This news made us deplore the fate of our wretched country, and despair of any speedy change in our own.

It appears that the agent-general, Jeannet, doubted, till this intelligence arrived, whether the Directory could maintain the act of violence of the 18th Fructidor; and whether, after having subverted the constitution, it was possible for them again to tyrannize over France by

means of terror: but these recent accounts removed all his doubts, and his present policy was but too well explained by his conduct towards us.

He sent back Barthélemy, though still far from well, to the fort of Sinamary.

Towards the end of February, he published a proclamation to the negroes, denouncing the deported persons at Sinamary as Royalistes, who, previous to the 18th Fructidor, were leading them back to slavery. He seemed to consign us to their poignards.

He prohibited the inhabitants, under the severest penalties, from holding any communication with us; and Mr. Grimond, attorney-general for the department, having previous to this order paid a visit to Laffond, was, shortly after, turned out of his place. Not contented with these open persecutions, Jeannet traced out and intercepted the correspondence of some of the deported. For this purpose he had announced the departure

of a packet for Europe, and had apprized all the inhabitants that they might take this opportunity of writing to Europe, which some of us having learnt, ventured to convey letters to Cayenne. But the vessel had no sooner set sail, than Jeannet caused it to be fired on with ball, brought her back, and got possession of all the correspondence.

"The deported," said this inquisitor, "complain of my severity; but if they knew the orders I have received, they would applaud my clemency."

Yet, notwithstanding his assiduity to serve the Directory, and notwithstanding his efforts to acquire their good will, Jeannet felt seriously alarmed. He conceived the anarchists, being restored to favour, would become masters of the government, which was already under their influence; and that the friends of Robespierre were but a step from absolute authority. In this opinion, the news brought by the Aigle packet so strongly confirmed him, and excited

his fears so much, that he caused an offer to be made to Billaud de Varennes of his liberty: but the latter refused this favour, and added, that Jeannet might act as he pleased, but he should never forget the treatment he had received, and of which he would one day make him repent.

About the same time, the commandant Desvieux, in his circuit to the different posts, paid a visit to the fort of Sinamary, where he examined our rooms. He first entered that of Marbois. "Good day, *Marbois*," said the commandant; "how do you find yourself here?"—"Very well, Sir," replied Marbois.—"*Sir*," do you say," returned Desvieux, "I had rather you had given me a blow than that abusive title. Do you want any thing?"—"No, Sir,"—"Have you any complaint to make?"—"We do not complain."—"Good bye then."—"Good bye, *Monsieur Desvieux*." Here ended this short dialogue, after which the commandant visited the other rooms, where he found us all immoveable,

with a book in our hands, and without seeming to perceive his presence.

After the return of Barthélemy, every thing around us assumed an appearance more and more menacing. Our communications became more difficult, and we knew that Jeannet had said—" If they are not carried off by the English, they are done for; they have nothing to expect from France." Lieutenant Aimé had, in one of his visits, brought me, to use his own expression, the good news that, in the district of Conamana, rooms were building for three thousand deported persons. In the month of April, about the period of the new elections, we saw fifteen hundred negroes and thirty or forty whites assembled, who, having received a distribution of rum, voted, by the order of the Directory, for the appointment of Monge, (who was then a commissary for the spoliation of Italy), as the representative of the people of Cayenne.

It was at this time, that eight of us, who eat together, determined, not I say on the project,

but the firm resolution of running all risks to rescue ourselves by flight from our tyrants, and to rob them, at least, of the pleasure of seeing us die by inches beneath their iron rod.

Barthélemy and his friend le Tellier, who determined to unite their fate with ours, were the last whom we admitted into the number of the *conspirators*; an expression which I adopt, because it has been employed by the revolutionists: for, in the eyes of those barbarians, the victims, who but turn away their heads from the blow that is striking them, are guilty of a crime against the state, and every man is a conspirator who dares to defend his liberty!

We communicated our design to Marbois, Laffond, and Tronçon du Coudray, who refused to join us; for they never departed from their original sentiments, relying on their innocence, as if that had not been the primary cause of their proscription. They thought it their duty to their country, to their families, and to themselves, to wait in the deserts of Sinamary till the nation

should call out for justice. "Yes," said Marbois, "let them do us justice, severe justice; let them bring us before any tribunal whatsoever; let them try us, and, if we are to be sacrificed, at least let our defence be heard by our constituents."

More irritated by the injustice I suffered, and more impatient to burst my chains, I preferred incurring dangers which, perhaps, in reality, were of less magnitude, although more striking in appearance. Yet I could not help admiring the constancy, and respecting the blindness of those we left behind.

Various motives induced us to confine our confidence to these individuals. No other of the deported were admitted, and the secret was perfectly well kept.

The plan of our escape frequently varied, according to the means each of us alternately suggested. Hope sustained us to the moment of execution, and no other object occupied our

thoughts. The idea that most naturally suggested itself, was to take refuge among the Indians, and afterwards to endeavour to penetrate across the continent to the Portuguese settlements. But we had no guides, nor could we expect to find any who were acquainted with the language and customs of these nations, or who would run the risk of conducting us thither. We knew, that the nation of the Galibis, the nearest to the French settlements in these parts, had conceived a great aversion for our nation, and that since they had heard of the assassination of the King, committed with impunity in the heart of France, their chiefs had broken off all communication. In short, we only possessed very vague information concerning them, and saw nothing before us but insurmountable difficulties. This scheme therefore was rejected.

Before I describe, however, the plan which we ultimately adopted, I must give an account of what was passing around us during our consultations and preparations for putting it in force: thus completing the history of our greatest miseries,

ries, and our strongest motives for flying from this land of desolation; after which I shall have no further occasion to interrupt the narrative of our deliverance.

Lieutenant Aimé being taken ill, was removed to Cayenne, and relieved by M. Freta, an officer of much firmness, but a very good kind of man. This gentleman caused the impertinencies of the negroes to be put a stop to, excused us from the disturbance of the alarm drum, and did his utmost to alleviate the rigours of our imprisonment.

Tronçon du Coudray was at that time very ill, and requiring attendance, asked for a negro to wait on him. Jeannet sent him one named Louis, a very bad man, whom he took from the gallies. We well knew that no one would be sent us but such as our persecutors could rely on. This man, however, was intolerably impertinent, and insulted and tormented du Coudray, who complained to the commandant Freta; upon which the negro was arrested and sent back to Cayenne. This conduct irritated Jeannet, who immediately

recalled Freta, substituted Aimé in his place, and ordered the negro to be again sent to the fort. Louis therefore returned more insolent than ever, and waited on the unfortunate du Coudray, notwithstanding his unwillingness to be attended by him.

We were by no means sorry that M. Freta left the fort; for it would have given us great pain to have involved him in the blame of our flight.

The commandant Aimé marked his return with new cruelties. I have already spoken of the intimacy between the Abbé Brothier and Billaud de Varennes. The conduct of that priest daily added to our indignation. He talked but of vengeance, of blood, and of the new system of terror, which, according to him, would produce a counter-revolution; and, if any observations were made, in answer to his outcry for vengeance, he replied, in the language of the celebrated revolutionary doctor—"*What care I how many men perish, if but the species remain.*" He invented the most horrid calumnies, and vomited forth abuse

against all the world. We strongly expressed our displeasure at his conduct, and the commandant Aimé, to put an end, as he said, to our quarrels, ordered us to be put in irons. When he came to visit us, perceiving that Barthélemy suffered extremely, he said to him, that he saw he had not strength enough to support this punishment, would order his irons to be taken off, and only put him under arrestation in his room. "Let me alone," replied Barthélemy coolly; "I still possess more strength and patience than thou dost of courage. Leave me to suffer in peace with my companions."

The Abbé Brothier very charitably asked for our pardon, which was refused. Fortunately Jeannet was much offended at this arbitrary act of the commandant Aimé, of which he was no sooner informed, than he sent the mayor of the canton, Vagel, who happened to be at Cayenne, with an order to liberate us from this severity.

In the beginning of May, Tronçon du Coudray and Laffond, who eat together, were taken

ill almost at the same time. Some hours after they began to vomit violently, and the most alarming symptoms broke out in both of them. They suffered the severest pains, without a moment of intermission. Jeannet was immediately written to, and that favour solicited which was never refused to the lowest criminal. He refused, however, to remove our unfortunate friends to the hospital. At first we received no answer; but the danger increasing, and, as we were destitute of every kind of relief, all our cares and attentions were unable to alleviate the anguish of our unfortunate companions. We persisted therefore in our application, and Tronçon du Coudray, though already swelled and unable to turn, wrote to Jeannet on this occasion: but that monster answered in writing, to the commandant Aimé, "I know not why those gentlemen are continually importuning me; they ought to know, they have not been sent to Sinamary to live there to all eternity."

These two victims, whom we had already given up, lay in the same room, in their ham-

mocks, which were their death-beds, opposite to each other. The cries their tortures forced from them re-echoed to our rooms, and far beyond them; nothing could appease their fatal vomitings. Laffond cried out with vehemence; he raised his hands towards heaven, and called aloud upon his wife and children.

Their torments continued twenty-five or thirty days. My heart contracts whenever I reflect on this horrid scene. We crowded round our wretched companions, and Marbois did not quit his friend du Coudray for a single moment. I shall never forget the assiduity and fortitude with which he overcame every disgust, and the despair which appeared in his eyes at the very time when he was supporting his dying friend.

Tronçon du Coudray struggled against the approach of death with all the energy natural to his character. The evening before he expired, he crawled about, leaning upon a negro, and came into my room. I seem still to behold this spectre. He sat down for a moment on my hammock, and

said—" I do not flatter myself I can live, but, should you put your scheme in practice, take me with you; for I would willingly breathe my last beyond the walls of this horrid prison. My dear Ramel, take me with you, if possible." After this he talked of his two friends Dumas and Portalis, rejoicing that they had escaped our miserable fate, and requesting me, should I see them again, to tell them they would employ his last thoughts, and that he recommended his children and his memory to their care.

This was his last effort of strength. He died the next day, which was the 27th of May. Some hours before he expired, he assembled round him Barthélemy, le Tellier, Pichegru, Marbois, Willot, Aubry, Dossonville, and myself.

These were some of his last words: " Fly, my friends, fly from Sinamary. May Heaven favour your escape. As for me, I shall presently be no more; but, should you ever see my friends, tell them my last sigh was for them, and for my country. But oh! forget not my children. Should for-

tune ever smile on you again, oh! do not disturb the peace of our native country, but rather brave all the sufferings of misery." Then, raising his head, and pointing to Brothier's room, "he talks," said he, "but of civil war; it is his wish. Ah! my friends, promise me you will prevent it, if it be in your power." In these last moments he still suffered cruel torments, and had a burning thirst; but all his faculties remained entire. He divided between us the money he still possessed, and again recommended his memory to our care. He beheld the tears upon our cheeks, and bid us adieu. A few moments before he expired, the Abbé Brothier came to offer him his spiritual comforts. Du Coudray thanked him, and declined his offer. He said, "I have always believed in God, and have always confided in his justice." Marbois closed the eyes of his friend.

Laffond, who was almost in the agonies of death, and weaker than du Coudray, was witness to this heart-rending scene, which he survived two days. He was overpowered by pain, and

could scarcely articulate; but seemed to retain all his senses. He only named his children and his wife; and his last looks were fixed upon her portrait.

I cannot describe the grief and dejection we suffered in consequence of this loss, the melancholy of Marbois, or the mourning and lamentations which surrounded us during the obsequies. They were buried in the path between the fort and the redoubt.

The forlorn and violent death of our friends, the rage and vehemence of the commandant, who, whenever a signal was made for the enemy's ships, armed himself, and exclaimed, "Ah, you reckon upon the English! You may think as you please, but they shall never take you away alive." All these atrocities, together with the approach of the fatal season of rains and hurricanes, made us earnestly sigh for the day, when we might in freedom brave other dangers, and rescue ourselves from this living tomb.

Our

Our plan was fixed previous to the illness of Tronçon du Coudray and Laffond. I have already said we had rejected the idea of taking refuge with the Indians, and had determined to trust ourselves to the ocean. We knew that the inhabitants of Surinam took a lively interest in our situation; of which they had given us a proof by sending General Pichegru a present of beer and fresh provisions. It is true, we did not receive it; but the insolence of the French coaster, who took charge of it, and came to the fort, boasting, in our presence, of having, together with his crew, drank and eaten the provisions sent us by the Dutch of Surinam, revealed to us this important secret. This circumstance flattered and increased our hopes; but we had no knowledge of that immense and uninhabited coast; we had no means of navigating the intermediate seas; and as the schooners, which are the only vessels that frequent the river of Sinamary, moor at the point which is a league from the fort, we could entertain no hopes of eluding the vigilance of the commandant, or of reaching and carrying off from the anchorage one of those

vessels ; for we had no arms or means of accomplishing such a project.

We often walked on the rampart facing the river, where we fixed our eyes on the Western coast, and sighed for liberty. Our imagination exhausted itself, and we fatigued our eyes and thoughts with this monotonous view, where we neither perceived any thing on the water or in the woods, that could awaken in us one glimmering of hope. At the foot of the bastion without the fort, and by the bank of the river, was a small canoe, used for conveying the guard to the redoubt at the Point, and to bring back those whom they relieved. This canoe had all its apparatus, and was consigned to the care of the sentinel posted on the flanked angle of the bastion, within which was the guard-house. We had often beheld it with longing eyes; but it was only by degrees, and through being urged by despair, that we accustomed ourselves to the idea of going out upon the open sea in so slender a vessel. None of us knew how to navigate a boat, and especially a canoe ; of which the

management is difficult and dangerous amidst the waves of the sea; and, as we had no compass, it was necessary to confide in an Indian or a sailor.

Our first attempt miscarried. Pichegru having endeavoured to engage an Indian in the plot, who came to sell vegetables in the fort, the latter spread the suspicions which this attempt had awakened.

We hazarded, however, the opening ourselves, without reserve, to a person then in the fort, but whom I must not name. Should this journal fall into his hands, let him receive in secret this public acknowledgement of my gratitude, and of that of my companions; and let him feel the true motives of my silence, as well as of my regret at being unable to publish his name at the same time that I commemorate his generosity.

This individual received our confidence with feeling and humanity, and justified the good opinion we entertained of his heart. He was well acquainted with the coast, and confirmed our

idea that we could only go to Surinam; but, while he gave us the information, of which we were so greedy, relative to the various Dutch posts, he assured us, that in this small and slender canoe we should not be able to get there; that it was, at least, a hundred leagues from Sinamary to the gates of Fort Orange, or of Monte-Krick; that it would not be at all safe to go on shore nearer than that point; that even when we got there, so severe a vigilance prevailed in the Dutch colony, that we must not make ourselves known; and that all strangers who were not furnished with good passports, were sent away, and not permitted to enter the territory. It was by means of this policy, and a system of administration at once firm and mild, that the former governor of this happy colony had preserved it to the mother country. Mr. Fréderic had thus, from the beginning of the revolution, maintained his independence not only of the English, whose protection he had rejected, and from whose attacks he was on the point of defending the colony of Surinam, but of the revolutionary party; to whom he had refused to abandon the valuable

property of his fellow citizens. How many new sources of hope! How many new difficulties to encounter!

We had, at Cayenne, one of those friends so rarely to be met with in these revolutionary times, who feared not to commit himself; and, had I, with indiscreet gratitude, trusted his name to my pen, would still have courageously braved the resentment of the tyrants. Him we informed of our scheme; and, within a week, he transmitted us, by a confidential person, eight passports, all signed by the hand of Jeannet, and exactly conformable to those he was in the habit of giving to the inhabitants of Surinam who went on business to the neighbouring colonies.

They were in the following borrowed names: that of

Barthélemy was in the name of	Gallois.
Pichegru - -	Picard.
Dossonville - -	Daunon.
Aubry - - -	Desailleux.
La Rue - -	Delvezai.

Tellier	- -	Tollibois.
Willot	- -	Toulouse.
Ramel	- -	Fréderick.

In proportion as our scheme advanced, we redoubled our precautions, to prevent our jailors from having the slightest suspicion of it. But towards those of our fellow-prisoners, who were not in the secret, we were obliged to employ a double degree of circumspection, however difficult to be adhered to. The Abbé Brothier suspected some mystery, but did not discover its object. He confined himself to repeating frequently, "you keep me in the dark; you are plotting something that I well know; and I will have you caught in the fact:" nor, indeed, was he incapable of such conduct. We could now extend the circle of our confidences no further, without risking the success of our plan. When I reckoned up our conspirators, and stole a glance from the ramparts at this narrow canoe, I thought it very insufficient for our purpose; yet, although our party was already too numerous, we determined to make one more attempt to induce Mar-

bois to accompany us; but he was as inflexible in his resolution as he was in his opinions. Nor would he consent to abandon his sick colleagues while alive, particularly his friend du Coudray; and, since their deaths, he seemed rooted to the ground that covered their remains.

But neither the opinion of Marbois, nor the account he gave us of the dangers of a navigation which he knew better than any of us, nor our regret at leaving him; nothing could deter us from putting our scheme in execution, such and so strong were the disgust and horror we felt for the prison of Sinamary.

We now only wanted a pilot; but where was it possible to find, amidst this desert, a man capable of so much generosity, or rather an angel, to lead us forth from these infernal regions? This event Providence brought about as follows:

The order of the Directory to take neutral ships is said to have caused a great multitude of small

privateers, whose avarice was still further excited by Jeannet, to leave Cayenne about the 20th of May. One of these vessels, commanded by Captain Poisvert, captured, in the latitude of Sinamary, an American ship, commanded by Captain Tilly, who was himself the owner of the cargo. It consisted principally of flour and provisions, which that Captain was actually bringing to Cayenne. He had also on board 40,000 bottles of Bordeaux and Rhenish wines, and of various wines, the produce of Spain.

The fear of being taken, in their turn, by some English frigate or privateer, while plying to windward, in order to escape the currents, and get to Cayenne, induced Captain Poisvert to come and moor, together with his prize, in the road of Sinamary. Perhaps, also, he feared he should have to share his prey with the lion Jeannet.

Poisvert himself brought the crew of his prize to the fort of Sinamary, together with Captain Tilly, whom he treated with great respect. This was a great event for the commandant Aimé, who expected

expected to derive some profit from the circumstance, as well as the pleasure of drinking his fill of Bourdeaux wine. The negroes, and a part of the garrison, were also happy in unloading and landing the American cargo. This new object of attention was a diversion very much in our favour.

But what was our astonishment when Captain Tilly came to us alone, and, bursting into tears, cried, " 'twas you, alas, my unfortunate friends, whom I came in search of! I knew you were here, have brought news from your families and friends, and have packets for you concealed in barrels, which it is now out of my power to touch. I had no idea of being attacked by a French privateer, and suffered myself to fall to leeward towards Cayenne, in order to have an excuse for anchoring in the road of Sinamary, or in that of Couru, whence I hoped to carry on intelligence with you, and effect your escape. But Heaven has disposed of us otherwise. I hoped to have been your deliverer, but, alas! I

am your fellow-prisoner. What can I still do to serve you?"

It is not easy to judge of the impression which, in such circumstances, the first words of Captain Tilly made upon our minds. To us his very presence was a blessing; for he was the only individual who, since our imprisonment at Sinamary, had been able freely to communicate with us, or give us any certain intelligence of our wretched country, and the general state of affairs. We had heard of the peace of Campo-Formio; and Tilly completed our astonishment, as well as indignation, by informing us of the invasion of Switzerland. Barthélemy, in particular, was much affected with it. In short, the violences committed against the Americans, of which he was himself a striking proof, fully convinced us, that our miserable fellow-citizens were entirely enslaved; and that the usurpations of the Directory were subject to no restraint.

The frank and open manners of Captain Tilly,

the interest he took in our fate, and in which we might conclude his free and generous countrymen participated, unavoidably procured him our confidence, and we communicated to him our scheme. We led him to the rampart, as it were to walk, and shewed him the canoe. He shook his head, and said—" No, no, gentlemen, do not run that risk; for you will certainly perish. That canoe cannot hold you all, nor carry you to Surinam. You may rely on my experience, that it is impossible." We replied that we were resolved to perish, rather than remain with these barbarians; and that, besides, we were only running freely to meet inevitable death, of which, even in the sudden and violent event of a shipwreck, the horrors would be softened by the remembrance of the long continued agony of our friends.—" Well," returned he, " I do not think you can escape so many dangers, but do not refuse me to participate in them. I will myself steer the canoe; I will also bring my pilot, my intrepid Berwick, and perhaps Heaven may protect, and the winds favour us."

From that time, Captain Tilly appeared equally earnest with ourselves to effect our escape, and he communicated our scheme to the brave Berwick, who did not hesitate a moment in devoting himself to our safety. Captain Tilly never could obtain our consent to join in the expedition, but he took no notice of our refusals, or of the fears he himself had awakened in us, relative to the smallness of the canoe.

Every thing being now ready, nothing remained to be done, but to choose a favourable moment for eluding the vigilance of the commandant Aimé, escaping that of Brothier, attacking the post, or at least the sentinel who had charge of the canoe, quitting the fort to go away with it, and lastly, to get out to sea before the garrison was alarmed.

The reader will remember what I have said of the secret services rendered us by certain individuals, and he may readily conceive their exertions to enable us to overcome these last difficulties. But, without precisely pointing out the indivi-

duals I allude to, it will be sufficient to describe the means employed.

It was now the first of June, and the appointed day was at hand, as well as the scene that was to facilitate our enterprise. The *dénouement* of our plot approached under the sinister omen of the funeral obsequies of our friends. We had recently performed the last offices to Laffond, when Captain Tilly brought us intelligence, that Jeannet had given orders to send him and all his crew to Cayenne, for which place they were to embark next day. To us this news was like a thunderbolt, and almost disheartened us. Tilly, however, was absolutely determined to sacrifice himself, and to hide himself in the woods till the next day (the third of June), which was the last day appointed for our awful attempt. On that day he said he would run to the canoe on a signal agreed upon. We had great difficulty to induce him to give up the honour of so great an action to the brave Berwick. We observed to him, that Berwick disappearing at the time of calling over the crew of the prize would not awaken so

much suspicion as that of the captain, whose visits to the deported persons and his walks with them had been already too much noticed. It was, however, with great reluctance that Tilly yielded to this last consideration. He parted from us indeed to expose himself even to greater dangers than we encountered, as on him would fall all the fury of Jeannet, whether we were so happy as to escape, or whether we were so unfortunate as to be discovered and arrested with Berwick. But Tilly thought of nothing but of our safety; and, if we could but once arrive at Surinam, he cared not what became of himself. How affecting was our parting scene! who among us all could venture to flatter himself with the hope of seeing thee again, worthy, incomparable Tilly!.

Berwick instantly disappeared and concealed himself in the woods. It was agreed, that, two days after (on the 3d of June), at the nine o'clock gun, he should be upon the bank of the river under the bastion; and that he should leap into the canoe the moment he saw us appear: but we were extremely uneasy on his account, for, as we feared,

he was almost devoured by noxious animals; nor could he defend himself from the serpents and that terrible animal the cayman but by continuing thirty-six hours on a tree, and even there he was not secure from tigers.

Captain Poisvert had invited the commandant of the fort to dinner on the 3d of June, on board the American prize, in return for the kind reception he had met with, and the assistance he had received from the garrison, which had two days before vigorously attacked an English privateer, that had approached the anchorage. At the same time that he entertained the commandant with a handsome dinner, and gave him the choicest wines he had on board, he had distributed to the garrison some common Bourdeaux wine. A girl, who had arrived some days before from Cayenne, did the honours, and delivered bottles of wine in profusion to the soldiers in their barracks and guard-house, to the negroes in their rooms, to the sentinels at their posts, and to the deported under their corridor. Ah! how long this day appeared! with what pleasure we watched

this young girl thus joyously pouring out bumpers to the half intoxicated soldiers. Her activity and solicitude served us to our utmost wishes.

Every one drank freely, as we did ourselves, and, seeming to take part in these orgies, we feigned a quarrel among us while at dinner, in order to avoid giving the most trifling indication of the plot. Aubry and Larue abused Barthélemy, le Tellier also took part in the dispute, Dossonville and Pichegru threatened each other, and Willot and myself seemed desirous of pacifying the rest. Glasses and plates flew about, and the uproar was so great, that the rest of the deported persons came in to separate us. The Abbé Brothier himself endeavoured to put an end to this disturbance, which only increased the more: but Barthélemy, who was the least skilful in feigning passion, coolly breaking his glass in an aukward gesture of rage, a burst of laughter had nearly betrayed us.

Night came on, and we saw the commandant

Aimé

Aimé brought in, dead drunk, like a corpse. Silence had now succeeded to the songs and cries of intoxication, and the soldiers and negroes lay dispersed here and there. The service was forgot, and the guard-house abandoned.

Before we retired into our rooms we took leave of Marbois, to whom our separation was a painful sacrifice, and who considered this as our last hour. The clock struck nine, the last we heard at Sinamary, and Dossonville, who was upon the watch, gave us all notice to begin our enterprise; upon which we went out and assembled near the gate of the fort, of which the draw-bridge was not yet up. All was sleep and silence. I mounted the bastion of the guard-house with Pichegru and Aubry, and went directly to the sentinel (the contemptible drummer who had so often tormented us), and asked him the hour. He made no answer, but fixed his eyes upon the stars; upon which I seized him by the throat, while Pichegru disarmed him, and we dragged him along, throttling him so as to prevent his crying out. We were now upon the parapet, and he

struggled so violently that he got away from us and fell into the river. We then rejoined our companions at the foot of the rampart, and, perceiving no one in the guard-house, ran in and took arms and cartridges. We then went out of the fort and flew to the canoe. Berwick was already there, and helped us to get into it. Barthélemy, who was very infirm and less active than the rest of us, fell, and sunk in the mud; but Berwick caught hold of him and saved him, and, having put him into the canoe, cut the rope. Berwick now took the helm, while we, motionless and silent, went with the stream. The current and the tide bore our light bark rapidly along, and we heard nothing but the murmurs of the waters and of the land breeze, which swelled our little sail and wafted us from our tomb of Sinamary.

We now approached the redoubt at the point, which it was necessary to pass, and therefore we struck our sail to avoid being seen. We knew that the eight men, who were upon guard at the redoubt, had received their share of the favours

of Captain Poisvert, and that they also must be drunk. We accordingly were not hailed, and the tide carried us beyond the bar. We passed to the left of our brave friend Tilly's ship, and very near the schooner la Victoire, which was lately arrived from Cayenne, and which we knew was commanded by the worthy Captain Bracket, to whom our escape must have given great pleasure, and who certainly would not have opposed us.

The breeze freshened and the sea was smooth. But, had we left the coast, we should have been in danger of mistaking our tract; and, if we kept too near the shore, we might have fallen upon the rocks, which are numerous there as far as Iraconbo. The moon now suddenly appeared, as if on purpose to give us light. This was a delicious moment. We congratulated each other, and thanked Providence and our generous pilot, who was in a dreadful state, being much swelled and disfigured by the stings of venomous insects.

We had proceeded smoothly for about two

hours, when we heard three guns, two from the fort of Sinamary, and one from the redoubt at the point; and, soon after, the post at Iraconbo answered with three. We doubted not but our flight was now discovered, yet were no longer afraid of a direct pursuit from Sinamary, where there was not one boat that could go out to sea. At all events, we had already got considerably the start of them, and the ships in the road alone could have given us chace. But Captains Poisvert and Bracket, over whom Aimé had no command, would not have weighed anchor and put to sea without orders from Jeannet.

We had, therefore, nothing to apprehend but from the detachment of Iraconbo, which we knew consisted but of twelve men; nor could they come after us but in a boat nearly like our own, with eight or ten armed men on board. We continued, however, ranging along the coast, and got our arms in readiness, being determined to defend ourselves if attacked, or in case our passage under the fort of Iraconbo should be impeded.

At four in the morning, we heard two guns to

the eastward, which were answered, within a minute after, by another close to us. We were at this time before the fort, but it was dark, and we saw nothing. We sailed fast, and when day appeared, Iraconbo was to leeward of us. We had now no fear of being pursued, and had only the dangers of the sea to overcome.

Our canoe was so small and so low sided, that every sea filled it; so that we were continually at work bailing her, and she was so light, that the least motion might have upset us. Hence we were nearly lost by an imprudence of which I alone was guilty. As I was rowing, I happened to make a false stroke with my oar, and my hat fell into the water; upon which, leaning eagerly over to regain it, I threw the boat out of her trim, and it was with great difficulty we righten-ed her. But Berwick's address, together with our activity, soon remedied this disaster; and I was severely reprimanded by Pichegru, whom we had made our captain. Barthélemy, being still covered with mud, took this opportunity to wash himself. I had the misfortune to lose my hat,

and had no means of defending my head from the burning rays of the sun, but by making myself a turban of some Banana leaves, which the negro fishermen had left in the bottom of the canoe.

As we had neither compass, nor instruments for taking the sun's altitude, we might have lost our way in the night; and the least gale of wind might have driven us out to sea, whenever we were obliged to keep off the shore, on account of the rocks or currents near the mouths of rivers. It had been impossible for us to bring away any provision, and we had not even a biscuit or a drop of water. Le Tellier, however, had brought two bottles of rum; and we were persuaded, the winds that constantly blow from east to west along this coast would carry us, in two days, to Monte-Krick. It was enough, therefore, if we could support our strength till then by means of this spirituous liquor.

On the 4th we suffered much from the heat. We had, however, a good breeze, with which we

ranged along the coast; and when night prevented us from seeing the land, we reckoned that we were opposite the mouth of the river Marowni, the banks of which are the limits that separate the Dutch and French territories, and which is but forty leagues to windward of the port of Monte-Krick. Yet at eleven o'clock, when the moon rose, we perceived nothing either in the appearance of the land, or the motion of the water, to shew that we were near a great river. On the 5th we were not more fortunate, and we pursued our course till night, without any signs of the river or fort of Marowni. We were still, in all probability, somewhat to windward of the river of Amaribo, a part of the coast which rises a little towards the north-east, and intercepts the view.

On the 6th we were becalmed. Having now been three days without food, we suffered the most cruel hunger, and were extremely parched by the sun, the heat of which was not now tempered by the breeze; and, as our minds were neither occupied by motion, nor supported by the hope of speedily reaching the end of our

fatiguing voyage, we were forcibly struck with the horror of our situation, and it was with difficulty we kept up our courage; for we had now nothing to expect from human assistance, nothing from our own exertions, which were thus deluded by the elements. It was on this very day of despair that we mutually urged each other to sacrifice even our just resentment, and not to suffer vengeance to take possession of our minds. We swore, in the presence of the Almighty, never to bear arms against our country, and resigned ourselves to the will of Providence.

The next day, the 7th June, and the 4th of our voyage, a breeze sprang up, and freshened a little towards eight o'clock in the morning; and at ten we were in sight of Fort Marowni, and opposite the mouth of the river, which the shallow reefs and currents render very dangerous. It was, indeed, with great fatigue and risk we surmounted these obstacles. We were also much harrassed by the monstrous sharks that surrounded and attacked our canoe, and which we were obliged to drive off by firing at them.

We

We supported the torment of hunger with so much patience as even to indulge in pleasantries relative to the various symptoms of our sufferings. In the mean while we continually watched, but still in vain, for the fort and river of Orange, and at six o'clock in the evening were again becalmed.

At three in the morning of the 8th the wind freshening, we got under weigh. At one we were in sight of Fort Orange, which we doubled, intending not to go on shore until we got as far as Monte-Krick, as had been recommended to us; and were opposite the fort, at about a gun-shot from it, when we were saluted with several guns loaded with ball, and of large calibre, which followed each other so rapidly, that we should inevitably have been sunk, had we gone further out to sea. This severity made us afraid of again approaching the shore; but we have since learnt, it was merely intended to make us hoist our flag, of which we had none.

At four o'clock in the afternoon the sky low-

ered, the wind increased, and we sailed very fast; yet we could scarcely escape the swell of the sea, which drove us towards the shore. Our brave pilot hoped we should reach Monte-Krick before the storm, but we could not expect to weather it. We were now every moment in danger of being lost: Berwick steered towards the shore, and the instant we gained it, a heavy sea broke and upset us. It was low water, and we sunk in the mud; yet notwithstanding the exertions we were obliged to make to disengage ourselves, notwithstanding the dreadful storm that raged around us, we did not lose hold of our canoe, and even succeeded in setting her upon her bottom.

At length we got on shore, not knowing where we were, or whether it was possible for us to go along the coast as far as Fort Orange, from which we reckoned ourselves eight leagues; although, in reality, our distance was but four.

We were now worn out with hunger and fatigue; our ragged clothes were wet, and covered with mud,

and we found no shelter but a wood, which was full of insects and reptiles. We had lost our arms and ammunition when the canoe was upset: night was coming on, and we heard nothing but the howling of tigers and the roaring of the sea. What a dreadful night! The winds raging, a deluge of rain falling, and accompanied with chilling cold. We were obliged to exert all our strength and labour throughout the night to keep hold of our canoe, which the waves continually washed away; and which, notwithstanding all our exertions, was much damaged. It will hardly be believed, that we still retained sufficient strength to persevere in these efforts, after having suffered so much fatigue during five days and nights, without food. We were all naked in the sea, struggling with the waves, which were thus robbing us of our last hopes. Barthélemy, notwithstanding his infirmities, worked with the rest, and afforded an example of patience and courage during this dreadful night.

At day break on the 9th of June, which was the 6th day since our departure from Sinamary,

we beheld each other with mutual compassion, half frozen with cold and almost ready to sink under our fatigues. We consoled ourselves by saying "*at least we shall not die in their hands.*"

Pichegru had saved his pipe and his utensils for lighting it, with which we contrived to make a fire and thus dried our cloathes. At length the heavens became serene, but the wind continued to blow with violence.

We now laid ourselves down upon our bellies on the sand, unable to defend ourselves from the stings of insects and the bites of crabs. Fortunately le Tellier had taken so good care of his little stock of rum that half a bottle still remained: but our hearts were so depressed, that we had not strength to swallow and only refreshed ourselves by washing our mouths and lips with these spirits.

During this day, (the 9th June) the heroic le Tellier had contrived a shelter for Barthélemy with branches of trees, and while the latter lay down

to rest or rather to faint, le Tellier, forgetting his own sufferings, drove away the insects with a light branch, particularly from the face and hands of his master. What an affectionate attachment! what a glorious part did this worthy fellow act in alleviating our misfortunes!

At night the sky was again overcast, and we were obliged to work while the tide was in, to preserve our canoe, which we had no means of fastening. As the tigers approached very near us, we increased our fire; and thus we passed the remainder of this night which was the second since we were cast on shore and the 7th of our escape.

At day-break on the 10th of June we perceived at a distance, a vessel, which Berwick discovered to be an English privateer.

We had sheltered ourselves under some trees, where we had formed a kind of hut, from which I went out at 6 in the morning, to examine the weather and our canoe. Having crawled a

few steps, I perceived, about 200 paces from us, on the beach, two armed men; upon which I ran in, crying, " *I see men* ;" all our party instantly rose up, and Berwick, though the most indisposed on account of having been so severely stung in the woods of Sinamary, darted forward towards them, while we concealed ourselves, that our numbers might not alarm them. On seeing our poor Berwick, who scarcely retained the form of a human being, the two soldiers stopped and levelled their muskets at him, on which he fell upon his knees and raised his hands in a suppliant posture, at the same time crying out, making signs, and pointing to the canoe. The soldiers listened to him, and came towards him, and at the same time we all surrounded them. We soon found they were two German soldiers of the garrison of Monte-Krick, and Pichegru entering into conversation with them, learnt that we were but three leagues from that fort. These men had been sent on duty to Fort Orange, where they would not fail to give an account of the number and situation of the persons they had found cast away, and therefore we determined to depute two

of our party to the commandant of the fort, to ask for succours and exhibit our passports, but at the same time concealing who we were.

We fixed upon Barthélemy and la Rue, whom we caused to drink the remainder of our rum before they set out. At the very time they arrived at Fort Orange, the commandant was dispatching a picquet of fifty men to fetch us away. Our ambassadors declared the object of our voyage, stating us to be merchants, and describing all the particulars of our being cast away, in consequence of which we had lost all our provisions and effects; and adding that the bad state of our canoe which was almost broken to pieces, would not admit of our putting to sea again after the storm. The commandant received them with great humanity, and having ordered them some victuals, sent workmen and negroes to repair our boat and assist in setting it afloat, and to search for our pretended merchandize. When we saw this troop consisting of about 20 persons at a distance, we were very uneasy, till two of these workmen who spoke French had explained their

orders, upon which having shewed them the canoe, they drew it ashore and began to repair it with the greatest industry and skill.

At 6 in the evening Barthélemy and la Rue arrived; but they were so much overjoyed and so agitated, that they did not think of bringing us a bottle of water. We could scarcely believe that Barthélemy had strength enough remaining to perform a journey of 8 leagues on these burning sands.

Our canoe being now repaired, and the sea having become smooth, we were desirous of immediately embarking; but were obliged to wait for the tide. In the mean while, the workmen, whom we recompensed as well as we could, and whom we were sorry to detain during the night, had orders not to leave us till they saw us at sea. Poor Berwick was growing worse, and as we were obliged to pass this night also amidst hostile insects, it might have proved the last of his life: for it must not be forgotten, that this worthy fellow, whose corporeal strength equalled

his

his courage and generosity, had suffered cruel torments during the two days he had past in the woods of Sinamary, waiting for the appointed time of our expedition. We had now not an instant to lose, to save him who had preserved our lives.

At day-break, on the 11th June, Barthélemy, la Rue, Aubry, and Dossonville, set off along the coast towards Monte-Krick, to procure food and lodgings for the poor shipwrecked merchants.

Some hours after their departure, and at high water, Pichegru, Willot, le Tellier, and myself, re-entered our canoe, which the workmen vigorously pushed off, and then took their leave of us; while Berwick, though almost dying, resumed the helm. A little before noon, we entered the small river of Monte-Krick, where we landed, while Berwick triumphed in our success, which he considered as the full reward of his kindness and generosity.

The commandant of the post at Monte-Krick had already received our companions with kindness, and had ordered us a spacious, clean and comfortable room by the side of the creek. What a moment of joy was that of our meeting in this happy place! Our friends had prepared for us two fowls, some rice, and bread, which, on this occasion, was watered with tears of pleasure and gratitude! We were alive! We had escaped our persecutors, the dangers of the waves, and the horrors of famine! In short, we were free!

Having taken a little nourishment, though with many precautions, we made fast our boat, which we cherished as if it had been an animated being, and towards which we felt both affection and gratitude.

We then paid a visit to the captain who commanded at the fort; and to whom our arrival caused much embarrassment. He saw no probability in the story of our being merchants; an assertion which our destitute condition and ra-

ged dress belied, as our language belied our wretched appearance.

His surprise was increased at the smallness of our boat, and our boldness in venturing in it out at sea. As this captain spoke French, we did our best to persuade him our story was true, and shewed him our passports. We observed that he had a copy of the description of the deported stuck behind the looking-glass; Jeannet having printed and distributed it to all the neighbouring colonies, and all the posts along the coast.

This worthy commandant, who, without giving himself much trouble about the truth of our story, treated us kindly, merely because we were unfortunate, shewed us himself this description without any suspicion, as he afterwards assured us, that we were the persons: and, certainly, it would at this time have been difficult to recognize any of us. He asked us, however, if we had touched at Sinamary? to which we replied, we had not. "And what," said he, "is become of those unfortunate men, Pichegru and Barthé-

lemy, and their unfortunate companions?" We told him, "they had been in great misery, but that they now hoped for a change of fortune."

Having given orders to supply us with necessaries, the commandant told us, he was about to give an account of our arrival to the governor of the colony. He made no secret of the motives for the vigilance, which had been particularly enjoined him with regard to the French. The colony of Surinam, he said, had been preserved, by the vigilance of its commander, from the troubles which had ruined all the French settlements. The negro slaves were better treated there, were more happy, and, consequently, more laborious, than if they had received the fatal and delusive gift of liberty. Jeannet, being displeased at the refusal of some unwarrantable demands for money or provisions, had said that *he would revenge himself on those aristocrats, and revolutionize Surinam*; and hence the commandants along the coast had orders narrowly to watch all the French who landed in the colony.

We therefore wrote to the governor, relating, in a few words, the atrocities we had experienced both in France and Sinamary, our escape, and our being cast away; and we solicited refuge and protection in the name of humanity and of honour.

It is twenty-four leagues from Monte-Krick to Paramaribo, the capital of Surinam, where the governor resides.

On the 12th we passed the day in resting ourselves, and attending those of our party, whom our first refreshments had not restored to their strength; particularly Dossonville, who had symptoms of a very serious illness, and poor Berwick, who was in a high fever.

We had all a hideous appearance, being much burnt by the sun, and the reflection from the sea; much swelled and disfigured by the stings of insects; our clothes in no better condition than our bodies; and some of us were even without shoes. We endeavoured, however, to

mend our rags to the best of our power. We blushed, not for ourselves, but for our country, to appear in this deplorable condition in the eyes of foreign nations.

In the morning of the 13th a planter, whose estate lay near Monte-Krick, invited us to his house, and made us the kindest offers, though without suspecting who we were, and being very urgent that we should accompany him immediately. We were about to attend him, when Willot, whose turn it was to watch our friendly canoe, descried a cavalier at a distance, and called us to observe him. Pichegru recognized the Dutch uniform, and assured us he was a superior officer. As soon as he saw our quarters, which had, no doubt, been described by the commandant, he clapped spurs to his horse, dismounted, came up to the room where we were assembled, and, with extreme agitation, said, "M. Gallois, M. Picard, are you here?" Upon this Barthélemy and Pichegru immediately came forward, dressed in a coarse vest or jacket, of grey cloth. The Dutch general shewed marks of surprise and indigna-

tion, then embraced them repeatedly, and pressed us all alternately in his arms, unable for some time to utter a single word. "Gentlemen," said he, after a short interval, "you formed a just idea of our governor. He is waiting with impatience for your arrival, and all the inhabitants of Surinam are equally affected with your misfortunes."

On this we burst into tears, and our excessive joy had nearly been fatal to some of us. Worthy and humane Dutchman, receive the homage of that gratitude, of which prudence alone restrains the expression!

When we left Monte-Krick we reluctantly took leave of our canoe, which we had christened *San Salvador*, and would willingly have taken it with us. At some distance from our quarters, on the creek, we found two gondolas were waiting for us, in one of which refreshments were set out, and in the other clothes, linen and shoes.

It is impossible to conceive the delicious sen-

sations we now experienced, without having, like us, been exposed naked on the burning sand to the scorching rays of the sun, and the severe cold arising from heavy rains and the dew of night. The same day, which was Sunday the 13th of June, we slept at the plantation of a friend of the governor's, who, having learned from him our arrival at Monte-Krick, insisted on our passing the night at his house, regretting that, being engaged in town by business, he could not meet us. He had, however, given orders to prepare apartments and provisions for us. What an agreeable surprise! what a powerful impression did the sight of this plantation excite! we came as it were from the regions of Tartarus and entered those of Elysium. We were delighted with his spacious gardens, his beautiful groves, his fine house, his table which was sumptuously set out, his elegant apartments, and his comfortable beds.

After supper, the negroes danced before us, to banish as it were from our memory the outrages of Sinamary.

On

On the morning of the 14th, having enjoyed that repose to which we had so long been strangers, we re-embarked in our gondolas and dropped down the river Comervine, admiring the rich plantations which adorn its banks, the neatness of the innumerable canals, the elegance of the gardens, and the magnificence of the buildings. At length we entered the river of Surinam, and at noon arrived at a plantation, where we were expected by several of the principal planters, who had assembled to meet us. We saw them waiting for us on the bank, which we had scarcely reached, before they sprang forward into our boat and embraced us with an effusion of fraternal affection.

Here we were treated with a magnificence which formed an honourable contrast with our long beards and disfigured countenances.

The tide permitted us to depart at four o'clock. About an hour afterwards we met a splendid gondola, in which was the governor himself, who was coming to meet us. He immediately came

into our bark, and embraced us with a lively emotion, saying—" Welcome, all of you; forget if possible your misfortunes; I will do every thing in my power to efface them from your memories. We are all happy to see you. The whole colony, and myself in particular, are at your command."

As we passed under the fort of Nassau, we were saluted with 50 guns, which were repeated gun for gun by the fort of Amsterdam on the right bank, and the batteries of Paramaribo answered them. We were about a league from the city when it grew dusk, and it became quite dark before we entered the port.

The whole town was illuminated; the garrison and the colonial militia were under arms, and we landed amidst the discharges of musketry and artillery from the square and from the fleet. The acclamations of the people, and their cries of joy, re-echoed through the air; they crowded about us, and shewed the greatest eagerness to see and embrace us. Thus surrounded by this nu-

merous escort, we arrived, amid the affectionate effusion of this happy and generous people, at the governor's palace.

His wife received us with equal gracefulness and sensibility; and the impression our misfortunes made upon this charming woman was so powerful, that we were frequently obliged to avoid her presence, because she was too much affected by them.

The governor entertained Barthélemy and his faithful le Tellier, while the principal inhabitants contended for the pleasure of receiving us, and they all loaded us with proofs of esteem and affection. I would willingly describe the various entertainments and country excursions, with which the inhabitants of Paramaribo, who equally endeavoured to show the joy they felt at having us among them, contrived for us. The riches and luxury of the inhabitants of Surinam, the flourishing state of that colony, the smiling luxuriance of its crops, the charms of its internal navigation, and the pomp both of its public esta-

blishments and private houses, are universally known, and it is easy to form an idea of public entertainments: but what is difficult to conceive, because it is an extraordinary phenomenon, is, that benevolence and humanity should animate a whole people, and spread and communicate to every class the virtues and sympathies of the government. It was these sentiments, and not mere idle curiosity, that actuated our worthy and respectable hosts, who, far from importuning us with questions relative to the miseries we had suffered, on the contrary, carefully avoided the subject. But the horrid picture of Sinamary, the captivity of our companions who still remained there, and whose treatment perhaps was more severe in consequence of our escape, in short, the situation of the worthy Captain Tilly, who had so unfortunately fallen into the hands of Jeannet; these reflections haunted our imaginations, and, although they might enhance the value of the blessings Providence had showered upon us, and render the contrast of our present situation more striking, yet the most cruel reflections often disturbed these smiling scenes.

Our days were thus gliding on with rapidity, when, on the 18th of June, Captain David, a coaster belonging to Cayenne, arrived at Paramaribo, with dispatches from Jeannet to the governor, informing him of our escape. This letter concluded as follows:

" If these gentlemen have not been taken by the English privateers, and if they have not perished, as I fear they have, they must doubtless have taken refuge in your colony. In that case, it is my duty to claim them in the name of the Directory, as prisoners of state. Should you be able to discover them, I request, and even require you to put them under arrest; but I intreat you to use no violence towards them, and to grant them all the kindness due to their misfortunes."

The governor replied, that he had not as yet heard of the escape of Messrs. Barthélemy, Pichegru, &c. but that eight merchants and a sailor had a few days before arrived at Paramaribo; that he sent him their description and the pass-

ports they had produced, and assured him that should the deported arrive, he would pay them all the requisite attentions.

Captain David was well treated and might, on his return, have explained to Jeannet, who would no doubt be astonished at finding his own signature to the passports, the true sense of the letter of which he was the bearer. Nothing further passed, and the captain returned to Cayenne.

We had learned, by Captain David, the painful news of the frigate *la Décade*, which had moored in the road of Cayenne, on the 6th of June, three days after our departure, and on board of which were 193 deported persons; among these were two members of the Council of Five Hundred, Gilbert des Molières and Job Aimé, both of them almost in a dying state.

We were far from harbouring any fears of the official demands of the proconsul of Guyana; but, as if to inspire us with new confidence, the

inhabitants lavished on us every possible attention, every amusement, and, in short, every proof of their unbounded benevolence.

In the mean while, we were very desirous of passing some days in the country; for most of us had not been able to recover strength enough to enjoy the pleasures that were offered us on every side. We all required rest, and sighed for the benefits of an European climate: in short, we determined, as soon as we had re-established the health of those who required it, and enjoyed, for a few days more, the attentions of the worthy governor and his friends, to embark in a neutral vessel for the north of Europe. Barthélemy was in so weak a state, that we had no hopes of his being able to accompany us, and the governor, thinking he would not be able to bear a sea voyage, urged him to renounce his plan, and remain with him. Dossonville was at the point of death. All the aids and remedies of art were lavished upon us, and no sooner were our intentions known, than our friends exerted all their efforts to dissuade us from it. They were desi-

rous, they said, of keeping us and guarding us at Surinam, till we should be recalled to our own country.

We returned to the town on the 27th, and were much surprised to find a second messenger arrived from Cayenne, who brought the governor an answer from Jeannet to his last dispatches.

In this second letter he confessed, that the passports of the pretended merchants were in fact signed by him; but he asserted that no such merchants as Gallois, Picard, and the rest, had ever existed in the colony of Guyana; that he was not ignorant that Barthélemy and Pichegru and six others of the deported were at Paramaribo; that he insisted on our being arrested, and that he would give an account of this transaction to his government.

In consequence of this letter we made an offer to the governor immediately to disappear and keep ourselves concealed until our departure for St. Thomas's, on which we had already determined.

mined. This precaution, however, that brave man said he should consider as a weakness.

But, averse to become the subjects of a quarrel and of revolutionary reprisals on the part of Jeannet, we determined, on the evening of the 28th, to leave Surinam. Dossonville was better and was desirous of going with us; and Barthélemy made us promise to wait for him at St. Thomas's.

On the 29th, our preparations were completed; a small and very commodious vessel belonging to Mr. Sticle was freighted in the name of the colony, and stocked with an abundance of provisions and refreshments; the pilot having instructions to obey the orders we should give him. We now took leave of Berwick, who was loaded with presents by the governor and inhabitants. We had nothing to offer him, nor could we have induced him to accept any thing but our gratitude, which we promised to publish to our fellow-citizens, and, if possible, throughout all Europe. I have discharged a small part of this sacred

debt. He sailed a few days after for Philadelphia.

At 4 o'clock in the afternoon of the 30th of June, Pichegru, Willot, la Rue, Aubry, Dossonville and myself, left Paramaribo to sleep at the plantation of our worthy officer, which is at the mouth of the creek, where our vessel dropped down to wait for us. The inhabitants of Paramaribo took leave of us in the most affectionate manner. The governor and the principal officers came to the plantation, where many of the inhabitants assembled; and Barthélemy, though very ill, was carried thither, together with his inseparable le Tellier.

When I reflect on the affectionate embraces of our benefactors, and their last adieus by the seaside, I cannot restrain my tears; nor am I able to express what I felt at this parting scene. Our patriarchal Barthélemy was unable to speak, and could scarcely move, but he bestowed on us all the blessings his expressive looks and feeble

hands could communicate. It was about 8 in the evening, when we tore ourselves from the arms of these worthy people, and entered the canoe to go on board. M. de Badenbourg, an old officer in the Dutch service, brother of the governor of Berbice, embarked with us on his return to his brother, and was to part with us at the mouth of the river of that name.

When we had weighed anchor, our adieus were heard and repeated by our friends; and the banks, even when we could scarcely distinguish them, still re-echoed with these parting sounds: Adieu—may you be happy—adieu—forget not Surinam!

There was a heavy swell, and we stood to the westward, ranging along the coast till midnight, when a gun being fired at us with ball obliged us to bring to. It was from an English privateer, which had approached us unperceived by our pilot. The privateer, not finding us bring to fast enough, fired a second gun, and, when we were within gun shot, saluted us with a discharge of

case shot. Being now hailed by them, we answered, that we came from Surinam, and were going to Berbice with dispatches. But not satisfied with this, the captain insisted on visiting us. The night was very dark, and the two ships ran foul of each other. The English captain examined our papers and passports, having reckoned on a good capture; but he only took away our fruits, and, withdrawing his men, left us to pursue our course.

At day-break the next morning (the 1st July), we had another alarm. A gun was fired to make us bring to; and, on our attempting to avoid it, a second was fired, which was so well aimed, that the wind of the ball threw down the pilot, who was at the helm; in consequence of which, our ship drifted with the current from the river Corentin, of which we were abreast, and we had nearly upset.

But what was our surprise and alarm when we heard ourselves hailed in French! I only saw negroes on the deck, and had now no doubt but

we had fallen into the hands of one of Hugues's privateers; especially when I saw the captain launch his pinnace, which was manned by six negroes. M. de Badenbourg, who was equally alarmed with ourselves, now came upon deck, and having looked for a short time at the boat, cried out, "Good day, Captain Anderson; how do you do?" This removed all our fears; and we afterwards learnt, that this Captain Anderson had, a short time before, in the latitude of the Caries, visited a ship, on board of which M. de Badenbourg was a passenger, when he came from Europe. The captain was very civil, and, when he learnt who we were, offered to escort us; for he assured us, the coast was much infested with Hugues's privateers.

At day-break the next morning (2d July) our ilot got sight of the river Berbice, which he pproached, in order to put M. de Badenbourg n shore. As we were launching our pinnace, a essel which we had observed during some hours, red several guns at us. We had taken it for an nglish ship, but its manœuvres, and its obsti-

nacy in bringing us to, though they saw us tack about at the mouth of the Berbice, convinced us it was a French privateer; and, accordingly, we were scarcely under the guns of the fort of St. Andrew, before we saw them moor beyond their range, in order to block up the river. We determined, therefore, to put into Berbice, which was a Dutch colony in the possession of the English; requesting M. de Badenbourg to apply to his brother to give us refuge till we could again put to sea in safety.

We went up the river with the tide; and soon after we had parted from M. de Badenbourg, two boats came to bring us on shore. We were conducted to the governor's house, where we met with that good reception we had reason to expect from the brother of our worthy shipmate.

We told him we had been pursued by privateers, and solicited refuge and protection. He answered literally as follows:

"Be not uneasy, gentlemen, here you are under the protection of the English government; but I must request your word of honour, that you will not quit the territories that are under the authority of his Britannic Majesty, without the consent of the government."

We had now no longer the power of receding; and, being convinced of the impossibility of reaching the Danish island of St. Thomas, without falling into the hands of the privateers, by which Victor Hugues, informed, no doubt, of our flight, caused us to be pursued, we gave the governor this assurance, and confided ourselves to the cares and attentions of M. de Badenbourg.

This governor, and all the inhabitants of the colony, were anxious to give us as kind a reception as we had met with at Surinam. Madame de Badenbourg, who is a most amiable woman, and a model of elegance and domestic virtue, being surrounded by a numerous and charming family, lavished upon us innumerable attentions

and presents, and omitted nothing to render our stay at Berbice agreeable.

Colonel Heslop, commandant of the military forces of his Britannic Majesty at the colonies of Berbice and Demerary, having heard of our arrival, came to Berbice, and informed us, that General Boyard, commander in chief of the land forces in the Windward Islands, had recently sent him orders to convey us to Martinico; and that, to defend us from privateers, Admiral Hervey had dispatched a frigate, which he expected to arrive on the 14th (it was now the 9th), when we were to go to Demerary.

In addition to these generous offers of protection from the English government, the colonel expressed the kindest concern for our misfortunes, and the strongest desire of serving us.

We took leave, with great regret, of M. de Badenbourg and his family. I shall retain, till my dying day, the impression his worthy character, his many amiable qualities, his noble turn

of

of mind, and his spirit of independence, made upon me. He appeared to me like a sage devoting his life to the happiness of mankind, and spreading around him all the blessings in his power and the influence of his virtuous example.

Colonel Heslop had offered to conduct us to Demerary by land, but we preferred the shorter conveyance of the sea. Accordingly, we embarked on board a brig called the Flying Fish at eleven in the morning of the 9th of July, and at night moored at the mouth of the river Demerary.

We landed next day at that fine colony, which the English government is so assiduous to improve and render flourishing, and in which more activity prevails than in any other on this coast, on account of its frequent communications with the Caribbee Islands. M. Beaujon, civil governor in chief, received us in the most friendly manner, and all the inhabitants vied with each other in showing the interest they took in our miraculous escape. Colonel Heslop invited us to his house, and treated us with the utmost po-

liteness. The colonel is a gentleman whose noble manners evince the elevation of his mind : I had long known him by reputation, having been present at the bloody scenes that passed at the retaking of Toulon, where the colonel, then aide-de-camp to General O'Hara, distinguished himself by a noble act of humanity. When the ships were burned which could not be made use of, the Themistocle, on board of which were 1600 reputed terrorists, catching fire, Colonel Heslop saved them at the peril of his life.

It was during our passage from Berbice to Demerary, that Willot and Aubry were attacked with a dangerous illness, which separated them from us. The next day they were delirious, and the physicians not only declared they could not possibly embark with us, but said they had but little hopes of their recovery. A few days after, Aubry, who could scarcely breathe, lay for dead, while Willot was apparently in the agonies of death. What a dreadful scene! what a melancholy separation. Of eight of the deported who had escaped in the canoe, only four, Pichegru,

Dossonville, La Rue, and myself, embarked on the 17th on board the English frigate the Crane, commanded by Captain Hello.

On the 20th we passed in sight of Trinidad and Tobago.

On the 22d we doubled the island of St. Vincent.

On the 24th we were off Martinico, where contrary winds prevented us from entering Fort Royal Bay. We therefore stood on for St. Christopher's, which was the general rendezvous for the Caribbee island convoy, and where we moored on the 27th.

I had, some days before, so violent an attack of the yellow fever, that I was delirious before we got sight of Martinico; nor did I recover the use of my reason till the 22d of August, or about a month after. I am ignorant of every thing that passed around me during this long confinement, and found myself on board the Amiable frigate,

commanded by Capt. Grenville Lobb, without the least recollection of having been removed from on board the Crane. Pichegru and Dossonville were equally ill with myself, and we all three lay in the captain's cabin, but were not able to speak to each other till about the end of August. We all owed our lives to the courage and attentions of Captain Lobb, and never did any man make so great a sacrifice with so much ease and simplicity. He never left us for a moment, and, notwithstanding the general dread of this contagious disorder, more justly feared than the plague itself, slept in the same cabin with us, and performed the lowest offices for us. When, after our long delirium had ceased, we, for the first time, perceived this hero of humanity, we were scarcely able to express our admiration of this extraordinary effort of virtue; nor could we ever prevail with him to leave us, in order to attend to his own preservation, after having been the cause of ours.

From the 36th to the 50th degree of latitude we experienced a dreadful storm, in which four ships of the convoy perished, besides the

Etrusco, which went down, after having lost all her masts.

I shall omit the particulars of this tedious voyage which continued sixty-four days.

On the 20th of September we got sight of land, and entered the Channel, where contrary to our expectation we met with light breezes and a smooth sea. We now discovered the coast of England, and soon after that of France. This sight strongly affected and agitated me, and I felt depressed with melancholy: for my heart, always inclined to serious reflections. In short, I could scarcely bear the idea that I could no longer call the land beyond that horizon my country.

On the 21st of September, which was the anniversary of our departure from Rochefort, we moored in Deal Roads.

Here Captain Lobb waited on Admiral Peyton

for instructions; we were not, however, allowed to go on shore, but an account of our arrival was sent to the government.

On the 24th, the Amiable frigate, which had been much damaged during the storm, and which could no longer lie in the Road, was obliged to go round to Sheerness. We now, therefore, took leave of Captain Lobb, whose interest and recommendation had prepared us a good reception on board the Admiral's ship the Over-Yssel, to which we were removed, and of which the officers lavished on us all possible attention; as if to convince us, the noble conduct of Captain Lobb did not arise merely from his personal excellencies, but was the natural attendant and general characteristic of the officers of the British Navy.

On the 27th, the government having given orders to bring us to London, we were put on board a cutter, the captain of which loaded us with attentions. General Pichegru, who was very

ill, was removed to London the same day, where we joined him the next.

We were conducted to the house of Mr. Wickham, secretary to the Duke of Portland in the department relative to foreigners, who received us with great politeness, and expressed the concern he felt at our misfortunes. He assured us we should find, under the protection of the English government, a safe asylum, and all those kind offices, which humanity owes to the victims of unexampled barbarity.

In this first conversation, Mr. Wickham expressed those wishes for peace and the emancipation of our country which he often repeated in several subsequent interviews. He told me, the next day, in particular, that he was informed of the desire I had expressed to go as soon as possible to the Continent, and that I should be furnished with such means of putting this in practice as would secure me from all risk of being taken.

On the second of October, two days after our

arrival in London, having an appointment at Mr. Wickham's, we had no sooner given in our names, than a man, or rather the skeleton of a man, whom we had observed in the corner of the room, extended his arms towards us, and, rising up, exclaimed—" Ah! my friends, you are then saved, and all my misfortunes are forgotten." He was scarcely able to advance towards us, and we gathered round him. " I am Tilly," said he. —" Tilly! Tilly!" we exclaimed, " our deliverer! and yet we knew him not! but you are so much altered!" We continued some moments in each other's arms, overpowered with emotion and bathing his hands with our tears. " Alas!" cried he, " nor I neither. Had I not heard your names, I should not have known you." We overwhelmed each other with questions, and he was very anxious to be informed of our adventures, and the fate of his worthy Berwick; after which, he satisfied our enquiries nearly in these words:

" On the 5th of June, said he, the news of your escape arrived at Cayenne, where the joy of the

the inhabitants was universal, and so strongly expressed, that Jeannet, not daring to oppose the public opinion, said to those who spoke of it, *why did they not all go?*

" As yet I was suffered to go at large on my parole, about the town of Cayenne, for I was not at all suspected.

" On the 6th of June, the frigate, *la Décade*, arrived from France with 193 deported persons on board. Jeannet received his dispatches, and nothing transpired of their contents. It was only said, that several of the present deported persons, authors, journalists and priests, were on board, upon which a general consternation succeeded to the joy our flight had occasioned. About 9 in the evening, Jeannet sent me an invitation to take tea with him, saying he had some affairs of trade to talk of. As he had in my first audience appeared to blame the unjust aggressions of the Directory against the Americans, assuring me that it was with regret he executed such orders, and still more so his barbarous instructions

relative to your detention, I now waited on him with confidence on this occasion. He treated me with still more politeness than before, and when we were alone, said, " you know the news from France, where tyranny is at its height. Here again are more of these unfortunate deported persons, sent me by the Directory. Scarcely have eight of the former escaped, than they are replaced by 193. I will no longer submit to be the jailor and executioner of my fellow-citizens, in order to support those five villains in impunity. I am determined to abandon the colony. I shall buy your brig, which I will restore to you at Philadelphia, if you will undertake to carry me there."

" I thanked Jeannet for his confidence, assured him of my attachment, and encouraged him in his virtuous resolution.

" I know, replied he, that you are an honest man. I am acquainted with your character, and you must have perceived by my silence, how painful it is to me to be the instrument of crimes.

I know that it was you that facilitated the escape of the deported from Sinamary, yet I never reproached you with that action. I think, however, you ought not to have led your pilot into these dangers.

" I now hesitated no longer frankly to answer this last overture, and not only confessed every thing we had done at Sinamary, but took this opportunity to inform Jeannet, that besides the packets I had delivered you, there were others on board my ship in a barrel, of which I mentioned the number.

" I had scarcely finished these indiscreet and fatal confessions, when Jeannet rose up in a fury, threw down the table between us, called his guard, ordered me to be seized and chained, and swore that the next day he would have me shot. In short I was conducted to the prison of the fort.

" Thus had I apparently sacrificed my life. But Jeannet dared not to complete his crime ; whe-

ther through fear of the murmurs of the inhabitants, or of losing the money, it was said he had invested in America. I was now thrown into a dungeon with irons on my hands and feet, and was allowed no food but bread and water. In this horrrid prison I passed the months of June and July, and I was even deprived of the consolation of having sacrificed myself usefully for your preservation; for I was assured you had been fallen in with and sunk by a privateer from Cayenne.

"In the night of the 1st of August I was taken from my prison, though without being liberated from my irons, and carried on board the frigate *la Décade*, which was returning to France. During the voyage I still remained in my irons, and was put into the boatswain's store-room. I now perceived that Jeannet, desirous of averting from himself the rage of the Directory, had preserved me merely to deliver me up to them, and that I was destined to glut their vengeance. The captain of *la Décade* had orders to treat me

as you had been treated; and I had no other food but bread and water.

"A high fever had almost destroyed me, and I was at the point of death, when, on the 3d of September, the frigate fell in with Commodore Pierrepont, who commanded a frigate of the same force, and attacked and took us. This worthy officer immediately liberated me, and conveyed me to Portsmouth, where I obtained permission to come to London. I am determined, notwithstanding the condition in which you see me, to return to my family, who believe I am lost; and now I have seen you, I have nothing else to wish for."

Captain Tilly had already prepared for sailing, and was come to take leave of Mr. Wickham. He passed three days with us; and we had the satisfaction of perceiving, that the certainty of our safety, that sweet recompense for all his generous sacrifices, contributed to the re-establishment of his health.

It is unnecessary to add, that the English government have anticipated the countrymen of Tilly, in rewarding this noble action by public testimonies of esteem and consideration, and by granting him all the assistance and kind offices he stood in need of.

On us they have bestowed the most delicate attentions and the strongest proofs of kindness: nor was it possible to do this in a more amiable and pleasing manner. Of these good offices I availed myself, till my health was sufficiently re-established to cross the sea.

On the evening of the 19th of October, I took a final leave of my companions in misfortunes, and, on the 21st, embarked at Yarmouth for Hamburg, where I arrived on the 29th.

Here ends my narrative. It is not for me to instruct mankind in the science of politics, but had I sufficient talents for that purpose, I would devote them to the reconciliation of the various parties, who are interested in the restoration of

order, of morality and of public faith. By this common interest, this general sentiment, I would endeavour to appease the hatred of factions, and stop the progress of civil dissentions. Innumerable reasons offer in support of this great cause of benevolence. May those render it victorious, who have more right to influence mankind. I am but a soldier, and can only offer to my country, my arm and my blood: both of which shall be devoted, till my dying day, to the preservation of her independence, and the rights of my fellow-citizens.

FINIS.

SECRET ANECDOTES

OF THE

REVOLUTION of the 18th FRUCTIDOR;

(SEPTEMBER 4TH, 1797;)

AND

NEW MEMOIRS

OF THE

PERSONS DEPORTED TO GUIANA,

WRITTEN BY THEMSELVES:

CONTAINING

LETTERS from General Murinais, Messrs. Barthélemy, Tronçon-du-Coudray, Laffond-Ladébat, De la Rue, &c. &c.—A NARRATIVE of Events that took place at Guiana subsequent to the Escape of Pichegru, Ramel, &c.—A PICTURE of the Prisons of Rochefort, by Richer-Serisy—AN AUTHENTIC ACCOUNT of the Captivity and Escape of Sir Sydney Smith—A MEMOIRE by Barbé-Marbois, &c. &c.

FORMING A SEQUEL

TO THE

"NARRATIVE OF GENERAL RAMEL."

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. WRIGHT, PICCADILLY.

1799.

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THE FRENCH EDITOR's

PREFACE

TO THE SECOND EDITION.

THE first edition of the following volume was prepared for the press with so much hurry and precipitation, that all the zeal and assiduity of the Writers were unable to prevent several inaccuracies from creeping into the work; nor was I at that time possessed of all the information with which it is now augmented.

The prodigious success it has obtained, must therefore be attributed to the interest excited by the unfortutunate men who are the subject of it, rather than to any merit the work itself may boast.

In the former edition, the chapter of *Anecdotes of the 18th Fructidor* was not sufficiently full, nor did it give a complete idea of the events of that memorable day. This chapter has now been considerably enlarged, and thus forms a Complete History of a Revolution, of which it is highly interesting and important to know both the causes and the effects.

In the first edition also was remarked some degree of confusion in the arrangement of the materials, arising from the great haste with which it was sent to press. In the present, I have endeavoured to correct this defect, and have given the events it relates, in the chronological order of time in which they happened, and which is so necessary to be observed in every historical narration.

GIGUET.

SECRET ANECDOTES,

&c. &c.

SEVERAL days previous to the 18th Fructidor the moſt conſpicuous of the Deputies having met together, a member of the Committee of Inſpectors propoſed to attack the Directory, and put Barras, Reubell, and Laréveillière-Lepaux under accuſation. But the majority, conſiſting of temporizers, thus oppoſed the meaſure. "The conſtitution," ſaid one, "will ſuffice for our defence."—"The conſtitution has no power againſt the force of cannon," replied Willot, "and 'tis thus the Directory will reſiſt your decrees."—"The ſoldiers will not be for them," ſaid the temporizers. "The ſoldiers are for thoſe who command them," replied their opponents; "and if you do not decide, you are loſt."—"The attack of the Directory is too hazardous an enterpriſe," ſaid another. "'Tis not ſo much as the taking of a redoubt," replied

plied Willot with energy, "and I will undertake it." But Willot, Pichegru, and De la Rue, were treated as wrong-headed enthuſiaſts; and there the matter ended.

The next day two members of the Committee of the Council of Five Hundred waited on the Director Carnot, who received them very coldly. His friend Lacuée had contrived to perſuade him that the royaliſts alone would be gainers by the intended change; and that the removal of his three colleagues was a mere pretext. Hence Carnot replied to the members of the Committee, "that he "would by no means conſent to the accu- "ſation propoſed; that he perceived royaliſm be- "hind the ſcenes, and that he had no inclination to "be hanged."

Some days before this he had ſaid to two Deputies who were urging him to a deciſion, "I will "not have any concern with it. Whenever you "attack a member of the Directory, 'tis with him I "ſhall unite."

Lacuée, one of the Directorial *obſervers*, had ſo conducted himſelf as to have nothing to fear from either party. The triumvirate owed him much, and he contributed in no ſmall degree to the miſfortunes of his colleagues.

During

During the night of the 16th, ſome members of the Council of Five Hundred waited on the Committee of Inſpectors, to inform them that an Aid-de-camp of one of the Directorial Generals had juſt received orders to mount his horſe, and attend his commanding officer. The members of that Committee were ſurpriſed at this intelligence, while ſome of them laughed at thoſe who communicated it. The attack did not take place, and the next day the incredulous triumphed in their foreſight. Emmery, one of thoſe who had boaſted the moſt of their moderation, ſaid from the tribune, "that the "repreſentatives who had communicated that in-"telligence were *alarmiſts*."

'Tis ſcarcely poſſible to form an idea of the unſuſpecting ſecurity of this claſs of the Deputies. They met every night in the hall of the Council of Ancients. On the 17th every one declared his grounds of fear, or of hope. The former were innumerable and deciſive, but were rejected by the *faction of the Incredulous*. Vaublanc went ſo far as to propoſe a wager to Quatremèr, who maintained that the legiſlative body would be attacked.

It was at this time that Bourdon de l'Oiſe, who was well practiſed in revolutionary commotions, came forward amidſt the diſputants, and ſaid with

fury and indignation, "You cannot repulſe bayo-
"nets with a ſhield of paper. I know but one
"means of defence—to go to the Luxembourg, and
"take off the heads of the conſpirators."—"He is
"drunk," ſaid ſome of the members coldly; and
they proceeded with the diſcuſſion of the merit and
the power of the conſtitutional act.

The placard which the Directory intended to
poſt up againſt Pichegru being preſented to him, he
ſaid, "I ſhall reply to it to-morrow from the tri-
"bune."—"It will perhaps then be too late," ſaid
they.—"Then," added he, "it ſhall be before the
"High Court."

At ten o'clock at night a member of the Council
of Five Hundred went to conſult Barthélemy. "I
"well know," ſaid he, "that three of my col-
"leagues are plotting ſome conſpiracy; but they
"are not ready, they can do nothing within three
"or four days." This aſſurance, which was im-
mediately communicated to the aſſembly, was a
triumph to the Quietiſts, and every one peaceably
returned to his home and to his bed.

It was Merlin who ſuggeſted the plan of opera-
tions to the triumvirate, and at that time he doubted
not but he ſhould, in his turn, be one day the victim
of a ſimilar revolution. Reubell approved of Mer-

lin's

lin's plan; but Barras entertained ſome fears, and left to the *Theophilanthropic* patriarch the glory of determining before him. At length Sottin determined all their opinions, by aſſuring them that the Councils were to commence the attack that very night. The character of Sottin did not correſpond with his name. He was no fool. He knew that fear itſelf made cowards brave. He recurred, therefore, to intimidation, and Barras became courageous. Sottin was of an active, enterpriſing ſpirit, and propoſed to ſhoot Carnot and forty-two Deputies, among whom were Thibaudeau and Dupont of Nemours. Laréveillère, and more eſpecially Dondeau, afterwards Miniſter of Police, conſidered this meaſure as dangerous, and dreaded its execution. They adjourned, therefore, the deciſion of their fate till after the victory.

It was alſo under diſcuſſion to ſhoot the commandant of the guard of the two Councils, Cochon, Ex-miniſter of Police, General Morgan, Doſſonville, Agent of Police, and three or four journaliſts. Reubell alſo inſiſted on Bourdon de l'Oiſe being ſacrificed. As deportation had not as yet been propoſed, they ſpoke only of impriſoning Barthélemy, and declaring his nomination void. He was to be replaced by Augereau: but the triumvirs

virs did not keep their word with him. He took his revenge on the 30th Prairial.

The conſpirators did not expect ſo eaſy a victory as they eventually obtained; Barras, therefore, reſigned to Augereau the duty of appearing at the head of the troops. Barras, it ſeems, is far from being deſtitute of prudence.

Sottin propoſed to the triumvirs to poſt up in the night of the 17th an addreſs, declaring that the Directory had only repulſed force by force, and that they had juſt been attacked by the troops of the two Councils. "That aſſertion," ſaid Laréveillère, "is but too eaſily contradicted; the peo-"ple will not believe it."—"They will believe it "for a day," replied Sottin, "and that is all we "want; what they may think after to-morrow is "of little importance." The ingenious Miniſter undertook to draw up the addreſs, and before five in the morning it was poſted all over Paris; care was alſo taken to diſperſe it over the departments.

Before the alarm-gun was fired, the triumvirate gave orders to arreſt the Directors Barthélemy and Carnot. A German Adjutant-general in the French ſervice was appointed to execute theſe orders.

Carnot preferred being himſelf vanquiſhed to conquering in conjunction with men whom he

conſidered

conſidered as royaliſts; on the one hand he had only deportation to fear; on the other, as a regicide, he imagined the gallows would be his fate. Indeed he was very near being arreſted, in which caſe he would undoubtedly have been aſſaſſinated; for the triumvirs, thinking they had cauſe to fear him, had given orders to that effect; he had himſelf taken no precautions, and was in bed when the runners ſent in ſearch of him arrived; his brother almoſt loſt his preſence of mind; but his ſervant, who was not at all diſconcerted, took a candle, declared that his maſter had gone to bed in his little apartment, and while conducting the guard thither, gave Carnot's brother time to appriſe him, and favour his eſcape. The Director fled, almoſt naked, by one of the gates of the Luxembourg garden, of which he had kept the key, but not finding it readily, his conductor was obliged to return for it, and quitted the apartment on one ſide, as the guard entered it on the other; he was, however, fortunate enough not to be ſurpriſed.

Carnot, not knowing whither to go, went at firſt to a lodging-houſe, but not finding any apartments at liberty, he determined to repair to the houſe of a friend, who had himſelf taken flight through fear of being arreſted. In the mean while

the firing of cannon was heard, and numerous patroles were parading the ſtreets; Carnot, therefore, was obliged to truſt himſelf to his friend's porter, to whom he declared his name and ſituation, and ſolicited an aſylum: the poor fellow was too much awake to ſympathy and misfortune to heſitate a moment; his lodge became the ſanctuary of hoſpitality, and the fugitive Director remained there ſeveral days without any adverſe event, till he had time to chooſe another retreat.

Carnot, then, is not dead, as the world has been diſpoſed to imagine, though his ſituation does not permit us to name the ſpot where he has ſecreted himſelf from his enemies, but we can aſſure the public that he does not repent of his political conduct; he only reproaches himſelf for his crimes; he remembers with terror, and perhaps with grief, the event of the 21ſt of January, and the remorſe he feels doubles the weight of his misfortunes.

Barthélemy did not eſcape arreſtation, though Barras had endeavoured that very evening to awaken his apprehenſions; but his indolence was ſo great that he did not take the ſmalleſt precaution: after playing a game at back-gammon he went to reſt, and was taken in his bed.

Barthélemy,

Barthélemy, though not poſſeſſed of great talents, has a very ſound judgment, and conſiderable diplomatic knowledge, though his correſpondence, however, with the Committee of Public Safety, affords juſt cauſe of reproach. He entered, it is true, on the directorial function with very good intentions; he ſhuddered at the conduct of his colleagues, and ſtill more at being aſſociated with them in office: the evening preceding his arreſtation he appeared very averſe to believe that meaſure probable; and when Carnot parted from him, the latter ſaid with a laugh, "Be not uneaſy, my dear Barthé-"lemy; they will perhaps endeavour to aſſaſſinate "me; but as to you, you are too harmleſs a man "to be dreaded; they will treat you like one of "thoſe ſhadows of kings called *Rois fainéans*; they "will ſhave your head, and ſhut you up in a "monaſtery."

Neither of them believed the blow would be ſtruck ſo ſoon. When Barthélemy was arreſted he did not indulge a moment's reflection, and had not even the preſence of mind to demand a ſight of the order of arreſtation: "Oh, my country!" were the only words that eſcaped him. Le Tellier then addreſſing the guard, aſked leave to accompany his maſter; Barthélemy could not help ſhedding

tears; and Le Tellier ardently preſſing his hand, exclaimed with the energy of exalted virtue, "No, "never, never, will I forſake you."

The members of the committee had no ſooner met, than a conſiderable force ſurrounded them, at the head of which was Augereau. Rovère and Willot were deſirous to attempt to force a paſſage through this body, holding their piſtols in their hands; but Pichegru oppoſed the meaſure. "The reſt of our colleagues," ſaid he, "have no "arms, and theſe wretches would maſſacre them; "let us not abandon them." At that moment a noiſe was heard; it was the repreſentative De la Rue, who, unwilling to ſeparate his fate from that of his colleagues, had the courage thrice to force a paſſage through the guard to join the committee. In vain had he been appriſed at his own houſe of the danger he was about to incur; he was deaf to the counſels of friendſhip; and, having embraced his wife and children in their ſleep, repaired to his colleagues. When he arrived, Pichegru exclaimed, "My dear De la Rue, what brings you hither? "we are on the point of being arreſted."—"Well," replied De la Rue, "we ſhall then be arreſted "together."

Preſently after the troops came in. "In the "name of the Directory," ſaid an Aid-du-camp of Augereau, "I arreſt you."—"Wretch," ſaid Pichegru, "how dareſt thou pronounce thoſe words?" —"Soldiers," exclaimed another member, "would "you be ſo baſe as to arreſt the Repreſentatives of "the People, or lay hands on your General, Piche-"gru?" On hearing theſe words they looked at each other, and dared not advance, till Augereau himſelf arrived, and undertook to execute the order of the triumvirs with the aſſiſtance of the officers of his ſtaff. Four officers fell upon Pichegru; Augereau and four others ſeized Willot; Aubry, De la Rue, and Rovère, were arreſted in like manner; in vain did they all endeavour to defend themſelves; they were forced to yield to ſuperior numbers. Rovère and Pichegru were wounded, and their clothes torn in pieces; and De la Rue, who had ſucceeded in getting hold of one of his piſtols, which he was about to point at Augereau, received a wound in the arm from a bayonet, which diſabled him, and deprived him of his weapon.

Dumas, a member of the committee of the Council of Elders, was preſent when they were firſt ſurrounded; upon which he went down ſtairs with great apparent unconcern, relying on his military

dreſs to facilitate his flight; the ſentinel declared that none could go out; "I know it," replied Dumas, "for I have juſt given the order myſelf." —"I aſk pardon, General," ſaid the ſoldier; and Dumas paſſed on without further interruption. His next difficulty was the quitting Paris, for which purpoſe he mounted his horſe, and took two of his friends with him as Aid-du-camps; the ingenious General, on his arrival at the barriers of the city, gave his orders, paſſed along the outſide of the wall under pretext of going to another poſt, and thus at length got off.

Bourdon de l'Oiſe had alſo come to the committee in the morning, and was in the hall when a ſoldier, who had doubtleſs ſerved with him under the banners of the revolution, ſeemed to take an intereſt in his fate, and endeavoured to ſave him by puſhing him rudely towards the door; which Bourdon perceiving, ſhowed an indignation that does him honour. "Your favour," exclaimed he, "humiliates me; I will not fly. Oh, my col-"leagues!" continued he, "forget my errors; I "will merit your eſteem by ſharing your fate." On hearing theſe words they fell upon him, and treated him in a barbarous manner: as he was drawing along in a cart, he was continually uttering

uttering imprecations againſt the temporizers, "who," he ſaid, "were the cauſe of this cata-"ſtrophe."

All the avenues of the Thuilleries were occupied by the troops of Augereau, and no one was permitted to enter; yet at ſeven o'clock about thirty members of the Council of Five Hundred aſſembled in their hall, to which they paſſed through the ſtables and gardens, and by ſcaling the walls in the neighbourhood. Here they were waiting for the arrival of more of their colleagues, when one of them declared that the inſpectors had been violently carried off, and that the armed force were driving the repreſentatives of the people from the hall of the Council of Ancients. Not doubting the ſame fate awaited them, the thirty deputies immediately formed themſelves into a regular ſitting, under the preſidency of Siméon.

The firſt reſolution they adopted was to ſummon the commandant of the poſt at the iron gate of the great court to their bar, to give him orders to allow free ingreſs and regreſs to the ſerjeants of the hall, who were inſtructed to collect the abſent members. This commandant was the worthy Blot, the only officer who at this time ſeems to have felt a juſt ſenſe of honour and of his duty. "I am a priſoner

"as

" as well as you," replied he, " becauſe I refuſed " to obey any orders but thoſe of my commandant; " a detachment is placed in the avenue to block " me up, together with my grenadiers." This intelligence put an end to all hopes of external communication; ſince therefore they could not poſſibly aſſemble their colleagues, they determined to take advantage of the ſhort interval that remained, to enter their proteſt in the minutes of the day.

They had ſcarcely begun when General Poinçot, accompanied by three or four officers, whoſe countenances exhibited an impudent and ferocious exultation, entered the hall by one of the ſide doors, holding in his hand an order of Augereau, which he read with an arrogance worthy of his miſſion. It was to the following effect:

" The general officer in command at the Thuil- " leries is ordered to cauſe the halls of the two " Councils to be evacuated, and not to permit any " perſon whatſoever to enter them.

(Signed) " AUGEREAU."

On hearing this paper read, a kind of electric ſenſation ſeemed to agitate all the members; they were contending who ſhould have the honour of mounting the tribune, when this tool of the tyrants told

told them "that he was a ſoldier, that it was his "duty to execute the orders of his commanding "officer, and *that he was not come thither to delibe-* "*rate.*" They now demanded a copy of the order, and as ſoon as the preſident had obtained it, unanimouſly declared, that force alone could put it in execution. Upon this the General gave a ſignal to a ſoldier, who ſtood at the door by which he had come in, and immediately a great number of armed ſoldiers entered the hall. Seeing the ſatellites of tyranny already preſſing their bayonets againſt the breaſts of the repreſentatives, Siméon, in a tone of grief, and with the utmoſt emotion, pronounced theſe remarkable words—"The rights of "the people are annihilated; the conſtitution is "trodden under foot; the national repreſentation "is baſely violated, and the hall of their ſittings "profaned by an armed force.—Until the authors "of this atrocious outrage ſhall be brought to juſ- "tice, I declare, in the name of the nation, that "the aſſembly is diſſolved*."

The

* Ramel has thrown out an inſinuation againſt the Legiſlative Body, by drawing a humiliating parallel between their conduct on the 18th Fructidor, and that of the Conſtituent Aſſembly at the Tennis-court. But what would that aſſembly have done had the

The repreſentatives, ſtill preſſed and threatened by bayonets, were driven, at length, into the great court of the Manège, but in lieu of finding the gate open, as the General had declared, they were ſtopped by more bayonets placed acroſs each other before them; and when they expreſſed their ſurpriſe at this, they were informed that orders had been given to proceed to the arreſt of ſome of them. Poinçot having ſaid a few words to one of his officers, called for the repreſentative Aubry, who immediately anſwered to his name; upon which the officer came up to him and ſeparated him from his colleagues, who were then permitted to depart.

At noon a great number of the repreſentatives having aſſembled at the houſe of one of their colleagues, who reſided in the Rue Saint Honoré, it was unanimouſly decided, they ſhould brave every danger. Each of the Councils, therefore, formed into a line, and thus they advanced to the gates of

the tyrant Louis XVI. acted with a firmneſs adequate to the audaciouſneſs of the *Republicans* of the Luxembourg? It was not now a maſter of the ceremonies that was ſent to them with a gracious meſſage, it was Augereau at the head of 10,000 ſoldiers. Mirabeau declared that the Conſtituent Aſſembly would only yield to the power of the bayonet: all the force of the bayonets was employed on the 18th Fructidor!

their

their reſpective halls. Siméon and Paſtoret, in their ſcarfs, preceded the Council of Five Hundred, and ſummoned the troops that occupied the avenues to let them paſs. On meeting with a refuſal, they ſpoke in a tone of authority, and of indignation; and the commandant, fearing his men might ſuffer themſelves to be ſeduced, ordered a company of chaſſeurs to march upon the trot againſt the repreſentatives of the people. Thus in danger of being trodden under foot, they were obliged to retire with precipitation. Jourdan, however, of the Bouches-du-Rhône, braving the danger, and holding by the bars of a window, exclaimed, "Villain, thou mayſt "cruſh me to death, but thou ſhalt never make "me fly." With theſe words the ſoldier was ſo forcibly ſtruck, that he ſtopped his horſe, not daring to complete his crime.

At four o'clock in the afternoon of the ſame day, more than eighty members of the Council of Five Hundred were aſſembled at the apartments of André of Lozère in the Rue-neuve-du-Luxembourg, where they drew up an addreſs to the people of France. Paſtoret and Jourdan, devoting themſelves for the honour of the national repreſentation, offered to brave every danger, and to carry it themſelves to the Directory. But ſcarcely had the mem-

bers begun to ſign it, when an armed force came to ſurround the houſe of Laffond-Ladébat in the ſame ſtreet, and there was little doubt, the houſe where they were aſſembled was their next object. Feeling, therefore, that it would be imprudent and unwiſe to deliver themſelves up, bound hand and foot, to the fury of the triumphant party, they adjourned till the next day.

The body aſſembled at the Odeon, completed their work during the night; and on the morning of the 19th, their victims were marched out, and ſpies ſent in ſearch of them. Reſiſtance now became more difficult, for it was impoſſible to concert meaſures together, or even to ſee each other. The moſt conſpicuous were obliged to ſeek a ſafe retreat; and the reſt had not ſufficient influence to form and execute any enterpriſe, even for attempting a reſiſtance to oppreſſion.

Several members of the Council of Ancients had repaired to the houſe of their preſident Laffond-Ladébat; which the armed force ſurrounded, when he was at table with his wife and family, conſiſting of ſix children, while his colleagues were deliberating in an adjoining apartment. Being informed of the arrival of the guard, and ſolicited to conceal himſelf, "No," replied he, as he roſe to preſent

himſelf to them; "they will not ſearch any further, "and my colleagues may eſcape." Unfortunately, however, they were known to be in the houſe, and were all arreſted. Madame Ladébat being taken ill with the ſudden ſhock, her huſband ſupported her in his arms, and received the laſt endearments of his children, who clung round him, and bathed him in their tears.—"My children," ſaid he, "weep "not, for your father is not guilty."

While the arreſted Deputies were conducting to the Temple, their future fate was the ſubject of diſcuſſion at the Luxembourg. Several of the conſpirators propoſed to have them ſhot immediately. Of this opinion were Sottin, Bailleul, and Reubell. Laréveillère, who, in the morning, had appeared to eſpouſe a different opinion, yielded to the ſolicitations of his colleague. But Barras ſtrongly oppoſed this meaſure, and was ſupported by Dondeau, who (from what motive, is unknown) was one of the agents of the committee. At length Guillemardet, *to put an end to the debate*, propoſed deportation, in lieu of impriſonment in Ham caſtle, as had juſt been ſuggeſted. This Guillemardet, who was a Jacobin in 1793, and afterwards, together with his friend Bailleul, was at the head of the ſocieties called *Compagnies de Jéſus*, after the 9th

Thermidor; and again, an enthuſiaſt, previous to the 18th Fructidor; was one of the principal actors in this ſcene. His friend Lacroix had told him he would one day be a great man; and accordingly, this little country ſurgeon, from Autun, is now the repreſentative of the French nation, at the Court of His Majeſty the King of Spain.

At the Temple the Deputies found Sir Sydney Smith, the man who has lately been combating Buonaparte in Egypt. "Gentlemen," ſaid that officer, "yeſterday you were members of the "government of France, and we were enemies; "to-day, ſince we are companions in misfortune, "I ſhould be happy to be ſerviceable to you." When he witneſſed their departure, he wept at their fate, and exclaimed, "Is it thus that France "rewards her defenders? your countrymen are "ſurely a very cruel nation!"—"Commodore," replied Murinais, "believe it not; 'tis not French-"men that are the cauſe of our deportation, they "commiſerate our lot; do not confound my coun-"trymen with their tyrants." Thus did the General forget his own misfortunes to become the champion of the honour of his country.

On the 18th Fructidor, this worthy old man was at his poſt at his accuſtomed hour, ignorant of

of every thing that had paſt during the preceding night. It was not long, however, before he received the intelligence. "Your name is in the "fatal liſt," ſaid his informers; "fly, and conceal "yourſelf."—"I will endeavour," replied he, "to elude the danger; but I will not fly." He had not proceeded many ſteps before he heard the name of Murinais pronounced: "Yes, gentle-"men," ſaid he, returning, and addreſſing the perſon who came to arreſt him, "I am Murinais; "you are not miſtaken." But neither his hoary locks, the dignity of his conduct, the calm tranquillity ſo characteriſtic of unſullied innocence, nor the ſacred veneration due to age, could diſarm or change their purpoſes; and he was conducted to the priſon of the Temple.

Sottin had juſt then conducted the Director Barthélemy to that priſon. "Who is that man?" inquired Augereau, fixing his eyes on Le Tellier, who accompanied his maſter. "He is my friend," replied Barthélemy. "Doubtleſs he will not be "willing to accompany you every where?" ſaid Augereau. "I will go every where," replied Le Tellier, "with my maſter, and, if neceſſary, I will "die with him." Upon this Augereau caſt a look

of

of anger at this victim of friendſhip and fidelity, and went away ſwearing.

Worthy, amiable Le Tellier! how noble, how generous was thy conduct! By thus voluntarily ſharing the misfortunes of thy maſter, thou haſt for ever ſecured the eſteem and veneration of every one that is capable of appreciating true virtue. May thy name be handed down to poſterity, and thy great and energetic actions give repoſe to the ſinking mind, when overwhelmed with the contemplation of the crimes and ingratitude of mankind!

After repeated ſolicitations, the gates of the priſon were opened to the wives of the arreſted perſons; the fate of their huſbands was as yet uncertain. Meſdames Ladébat, Murinais, De la Rue, Rovère, and Aubry, came attended by their children: what a dreadful ſcene for thoſe unfortunate women! Every ſtep they proceeded in the courts and paſſages of this abode of horror, inflicted a new pang on their tender feelings; while inebriated ſoldiers ferociouſly inſulted their miſeries. "Thoſe "raſcals," ſaid one, "will be ſhot to-morrow."— "And I am ſure," added another, "they will "make wry faces on the occaſion." The youngeſt of them, however, requeſted them to be ſilent, ſaying

ſaying it was cruel to hold ſuch language before the wives of the priſoners; but the wretches only anſwered him with inſults.

Pichegru, perceiving the wives of his fellow-priſoners, came up to them, and taking in his arms the infant child of De la Rue, who was weeping bitterly; "Why do you cry ſo, my dear child?" ſaid the General (himſelf burſting into tears as he embraced him). "Becauſe," anſwered the child, "naughty ſoldiers have arreſted dear papa."—"You are right," replied Pichegru with indignation, and caſting a look of contempt at the guard; "they are indeed naughty ſoldiers, for good ſol-"diers would never have conſented to become "executioners." The ſoldiers themſelves ſeemed thunderſtruck with theſe words; they looked at each other, and were ſilent.

Augereau, ſeeing two of the wives of the priſoners go away weeping, ſaid with a laugh, "Theſe "women are fools to cry ſo; were they their para-"mours, indeed there might be ſome reaſon."

The minority of the Councils had aſſembled at the theatre of the Odeon and the Surgeons' ſchool. The firſt object of their attention was to draw up liſts of proſcription; a ſecretary read over the names of the Deputies, as was done on the 2d of

September,

September, in alphabetical order, and after each name the preſident took the ſenſe of the aſſembly, ſaying, " Shall he be deported?" to which his colleague in this deputation anſwered " *Yes*," and the reſt held up their hands as a mark of their aſſent and fidelity; upon which the ſecretary inſcribed the name in the fatal liſt.

When they came to that of Mare-Curtin, which the ſecretary miſ-pronounced, " Who is that?" ſaid they; " we know him not, he has never " ſpoken."—" Pſhaw!" cried a member of the deputation, " no matter; he belonged to the " League of Clichy, he muſt go with the reſt;"—and then they laughed.

The ſame ſteps were purſued with regard to the journaliſts. Bailleul, knowing the deſtined victims better than the reſt of his colleagues, was appointed to ſelect them.

When the decree of deportation was brought to the Temple, Augereau, who was there, ſaid with fury, " This is their conſtant method; they ſpoil " every thing with their moderantiſm;" and Bourdon de l'Oiſe, covering his face with both his hands, exclaimed in a melancholy tone, " Where ſhall I " find a place to lay my head?—I that have voted " for the death of my king!"

The

The wives of the deported perſons waited on ſeveral of the Deputies to obtain an alleviation of their fate. "What reaſon have you to complain?" replied Jacomin, who had juſt been nominated a member of the Committee of Inſpectors: "your "huſbands will be deported, whereas they deſerved "death."—"They have been treated with lenity," ſaid another; "they ought to have been ſhot." Bailleul ſaid, with a ſmile of deriſion, that Guiana was a very good country; and there was nothing alarming in deportation. Le Hardy alone ſhowed ſome ſigns of humanity.

The wife of one of the deported waited on Merlin, hoping to move his compaſſion, by repreſenting the great age and infirmities of her huſband. She employed in his behalf that affecting eloquence which flows directly from the heart, and which women alone ſeem to poſſeſs. Merlin, indeed, for a moment, appeared ſomewhat affected; ſome tears eſcaped him, and he promiſed to comply; but when he returned to the Directory he ſoon overcame this emotion, and was the firſt to move the order of the day on his memorial. Incredible as it may appear, it is a fact, that Merlin, after having dropt two or three tears, revenged

himſelf for his humanity being thus ſurpriſed, by the rejection of the petition.

Madame Ladébat never came to the Temple, but her huſband ſaid to her, " Since you are de- " termined to take ſome ſteps, beware of ſpeaking " for me alone. Speak for all; for I will never " conſent to ſeparate my fate from that of my col- " leagues." Laffond-Ladébat was at the head of a conſiderable houſe of trade, and its failure might have ruined many other houſes. Yet even theſe conſiderations, powerful as they were, did not influence his conduct.

Two hours after their arrival in the Temple, the deported perſons viſited the apartments in the tower. " This," ſaid La Vilheurnois, who acted as their guide, " was the chamber of the unfortunate " Louis XVI.;" and Rovère raiſed his hands towards heaven, ſtruck his forehead, and retired with horror.

The deported examined with the greateſt attention the following ſentences written with a pencil on the wall of one of the apartments: " O my " God, forgive thoſe who have put my relations " to death! O my Father, look down upon me " from the heavens above! May the French nation " be happy!"—" Gentlemen," ſaid La Vilheurnois,

" by

" by theſe few words which ſhe has inſcribed, you " may judge of the greatneſs of ſoul of the daugh- " ter of Louis XVI.—" She was an angel," added the keeper: " as long as I am here, theſe lines " ſhall never be effaced."—" You are a worthy fel- " low," ſaid Pichegru; and De la Rue wrote under the words, " May the French nation be happy!" the following ſentence: " God will hear the " prayers of innocence."

The keeper treated the deported with great kindneſs, as he had always acted towards his priſoners. He was ſhortly after diſcharged.

In the evening of the 18th Fructidor, the wife of one of the deported was accoſted as ſhe left the Temple by a man ſhe did not know: " You are " the wife," ſaid he, " of one of thoſe unfortu- " nate men."—" Yes, Sir," replied ſhe, and told him the name of her huſband. " Ah, Madam," ſaid he, " he has not had time to collect together " a great ſtock of money; permit my friendſhip to " ſupply him with this trifling advance." And with theſe words he preſented her three rouleaux of louis d'ors, with a delicacy that admitted of no refuſal. " Generous man!" ſaid ſhe, " my huſ- " band can have no need of them: his friends " have already provided for him."—" Well," replied the ſtranger, " Pichegru, Willot, and the

" reſt, are not ſo fortunate. Let them accept the offer-
" ing of a ſincere friend." And with theſe words he ſlipped the money into her boſom, notwithſtanding her endeavours to refuſe it. In vain did ſhe inquire the name of this eſtimable man;—he left her without anſwering her inquiries. Worthy D**** ! in vain haſt thou endeavoured to bury thy generoſity in oblivion. Thy colleagues have diſcovered thy name, and have not been deceived in their conjectures.

An old man, a ſtranger to Madame L***, waited upon her in the morning of the 19th Fructidor, and addreſſed her in the following terms: " Madam," ſaid he, " I have promiſed your huſ-
" band my friendſhip and eſteem. Have the
" goodneſs to deliver him theſe fifty louis d'ors.
" I am unfortunate in having at preſent no more
" to offer him. Adieu, Madam; you muſt not
" feel your delicacy wounded: I am only lending
" your huſband a trifle, which he will repay me
" at his return." With theſe words the old man took his leave, without mentioning his name. His generoſity, however, ſoon betrayed him.

Pichegru, at his departure for Guiana, wept over the fate of his ſiſter, and of his poor brother, a miniſter of the Catholic religion, whom he entirely maintained,

maintained, and who were thus deprived of all their reſources and ſupport: for Pichegru was rich in nothing but in virtues. Accordingly, when he departed, he left a debt of ſix hundred livres unpaid. It was demanded of theſe two unfortunate perſons, and they were unable to retain the few remaining objects of their affection, the dreſs, the hat, and the ſword, of the conqueror of Holland. They were ſold. Theſe were the only riches of this ſimple and virtuous man. What a contraſt! The chief movers of the revolution of the 18th Fructidor, now driven from their thrones, retire *to their eſtates*; while Pichegru, proud of his honourable poverty, wanders in hapleſs exile far from his native country.

Barthélemy, ſucceſſively Ambaſſador and Director of the French nation, had no other property than a farm, worth about twenty-five thouſand livres.

Willot, at the time of his proſcription, had no more than one thouſand livres; and this ſum he had lent to a man he conſidered as his friend, and who, under various flimſy pretexts, refuſed to repay his debt.

Laffond-Ladébat, entirely devoted to the intereſts of his country, had long forgotten to purſue

his

his own advantage. Though he had once been poſſeſſed of immenſe property, he now left no more than would liquidate his debts; and his children, who had been brought up in expectation of opulence, have no other patrimony than the example of his probity and of his virtues.

De la Rue maintained his aged father and all his family, who were rich before the revolution, but were entirely ruined by that event; and he was even indebted to the generoſity of friendſhip for the aids he received at his departure. His worthy and reſpectable father was now inconſolable. His misfortunes however were not able to deſtroy him, and he lived in hopes of again beholding his ſon. Four months after this cruel ſeparation, he was informed that an officer of marine had arrived at Paris, who had ſeen him in the wilds of Guiana. He was exceedingly anxious immediately to ſee and to converſe with this officer; and as his ſtory muſt be intereſting to the whole family, they were all aſſembled to receive him. The worthy officer came; but the old man, overpowered with joy as he aroſe to embrace him, fell a victim to his pleaſure and ſurpriſe, and died in his arms.

Tronçon du Coudray had no revenue but his

ſalary,

ſalary, and of this he was of courſe deprived before his departure for Guiana.

Almoſt all the deported perſons had long filled the firſt offices of the republic, yet on the 18th Fructidor they were ſuddenly reduced to indigence. Inhabitants of France, compare and judge!

A Letter from one of the proſcribed Deputies will throw additional light on this memorable Revolution.

De la Rue to his Friend G—— at Paris.

" Sinamary, 26th Frimaire, ſixth Year.

" My health and my courage do not fail me. " Both the one and the other are cauſes of deſpair " to our deſtroyers. They imagine that while " they at once attack our bodies by the moſt barbarous treatment, and our minds by depriving " us of all that is dear to us, we ſhall at length " ſink beneath the weight of ſuch an accumulation of evils. The ſtrength, however, that is " derived from a pure conſcience cannot be conceived by the man that is continually perſecuted " by remorſe. His hopes are extinguiſhed, and " the future offers no charms to thoſe who dread " the puniſhment of their crimes. Hence our

" daſtardly perſecutors could not have believed " our reſignation ſo great,—they could not form " an eſtimate of our energy: for we derived it " from a ſource which to them is utterly unknown. " Their rigour towards us is injurious even to " their own plans: for we perceive in it a kind of " barometer of their fears and alarms. Hence, " the more ſevere they are, the more do our hopes " increaſe; and our confidence in the courage, the " love of true liberty, and the principles of honour " of the French nation, gain ſtrength. We are per- " ſuaded they already perceive the wickedneſs and " atrociouſneſs of their tyrants. Oh, that we could " have laid open to them the truth before our de- " portation! Oh, that we could have proclaimed " to them:—

" 'We have long obſerved and narrowly watched " the manœuvres of the triumvirs to remove the " obſtacles that oppoſed their outrageous tyranny, " to extinguiſh the light that would have betrayed " their ſcandalous dilapidations, and to deſtroy all " thoſe virtuous men who were deſirous the con- " ſtitution ſhould reſt on the only pillars that " could ſupport it—juſtice in all its plenitude, and " order in all its rigour.'

" Already had we detected an attempt, of which

" Hoche

" Hoche was the chief mover, and which at this
" day muſt appear demonſtrative to the moſt in-
" credulous, namely, that the troops brought to
" Paris under his orders were intended for the en-
" terpriſe afterwards executed by Augereau. My
" denunciation of that meaſure was, however, at
" that time conſidered as too ſtrong, by certain
" temporizers, who, notwithſtanding, were no
" better treated than myſelf, and who ſuffer the
" additional ſhame and remorſe of being the pri-
" mary cauſes of the calamities of their country.
" Theſe men more particularly cenſured the paſ-
" ſage wherein I repreſented, that the march of
" thoſe troops was a part of a grand plan of
" attack, formed long before, upon the pureſt part
" of the legiſlative body, and the execution of
" which was perhaps deferred only for a ſhort
" period. Yet my ſuſpicions were but too juſt,
" and we were in poſſeſſion of ſuch proofs as
" amounted to a moral certainty, a week before
" the perpetration of the crime. There were in
" the Council a vaſt number even of thinking
" men, who would not believe it without mathe-
" matical demonſtration and phyſical proof. But
" is it not a ſtrange mode of combatting conſpira-
" tors, to defer attacking them till their conſpiracy

" has broken out; that is to say, till no means
" exist for preventing its success? A body whose
" whole force and most effectual resistance reside
" in words and in public opinion, must necessarily
" fall, unless they can anticipate their destroyers.
" Of this truth our history is one instance, among
" innumerable others. Yet notwithstanding the
" difficulties we encountered at every step, Pi-
" chegru and myself carried a resolution that a
" Report would be made from the Committee of
" Inspectors; and it was of importance that the
" member who was to make it should have but
" few prejudices to contend with. Thibaudeau
" would have been the most proper person; but
" he refused. Emmery was equally indisposed to
" undertake this office; and our last resource was
" Vaublanc, who did not accept it till after three
" days of uncertainty. He was to have made the
" Report on the 17th; but by what fatality I know
" not, he was not ready on the day appointed.
" We demanded therefore his word of honour
" that he would complete it the next day; and
" this pledge he gave us. Thus the Report now
" became certain. The last determination was
" taken at half past one o'clock; at two the Di-
" rectory were informed of it; and at three the
" orders

" orders were given for the grand enterprise, which " was to be concealed under the pretext of a " general military exercise in the plain of Mont- " rouge. Of this, information was brought us at " half past three, at which time, our sitting not " being closed, we were desirous of taking advan- " tage of that circumstance; I therefore informed " the president, that that Committee were about to " demand a general committee, and then to invite " the Council to make its sittings permanent. He " approved of my plan, which I immediately went " to transmit to the president of the Council of An- " cients, who received it with equal satisfaction. " But perceiving that some members (who were, no " doubt, in the secret; for there were many of them) " became impatient at the length of the sitting, " he gave a signal to D***, who was a member " of the Committee, and asked him what news; " upon which D***, who was one of the incredu- " lous, but was sincere in his unbelief, replied, that " things continued just in the same state: upon " which the sitting broke up.

" The initiated party, dreading our Report, cir- " culated a rumour in the Council of Five Hundred, " that the other Council were no longer sitting, and " immediately ours separated. This disappoint-

" ment increaſed the embarraſſment of the Com-
" mittee, which adjourned at ſeven o'clock, to con-
" cert meaſures with that of the Council of An-
" cients. We had ſcarcely re-aſſembled before we
" received intelligence by various channels that
" the fatal moment was now approaching. But
" they all left us in total uncertainty as to the mo-
" ment, or even the day, when we were to expect it.

" At eleven o'clock we broke up our ſitting,
" without knowing any thing further than what
" had been told us at the Council, and every thing
" exhibiting an appearance of the profoundeſt tran-
" quillity. This circumſtance contributed in a
" great meaſure to reſtore our confidence. The
" two members, whoſe turn it was to be upon
" guard, remained alone, agreeing to inform us if
" any thing important happened. At two in the
" morning they received intelligence that the troops
" were in motion, and having convinced themſelves
" of the truth of this report, by the teſtimony of
" their ſenſes, they diſpatched meſſengers to us
" without a moment's loſs of time, and prepared
" letters of convocation for the members of the
" Councils. All our meaſures were, however,
" fruſtrated by the intervention of the armed force.
" The Committee were ſurrounded, and even ar-
" reſted,

" refted, together with ten members of the two
" Councils, who had repaired to it to learn the
" cauſe of the movements that were taking place.
" I alſo went thither myſelf, and having forced my
" way through three bodies of ſoldiers, I demanded
" to participate in the honourable fate of my col-
" leagues: to which they conſented the more rea-
" dily, as I was one of the firſt on the proſcription
" liſt. In the mean while we held out to the ſol-
" diers the Conſtitution as the only weapon we
" would oppoſe to them, declaring that they were
" thus rendered guilty of violating both the conſti-
" tution and their oaths to ſupport it; but their
" commanding officers replied, that they could obey
" no other law than the orders of the Directory.
" 'Then ſtrike,' ſaid I, at the ſame time opening
" my boſom, 'ſtrike; for it is our duty not to aban-
" don this ſpot but with our lives:—yes, be the
" aſſaſſins' (continued I, pointing to Pichegru)
" of him, under whom it has been your boaſt to
" march to victory, and bathe in his blood the
" laurels he has placed upon your brows.'—With
" this ſally, in which I was followed by all my col-
" leagues, the ſoldiers were ſtruck, and heſitated
" for a moment: which their General perceiving,
" re-animated them by ſeizing one of our number

" by the collar. Upon this, his example was fol-
" lowed by a ſcore of his men, and immediately
" above two hundred ſoldiers dragged us to the
" carriages that were in waiting for us.

" The remainder of our ſtory regards ourſelves
" alone, and not the public intereſt: I therefore
" reſerve it for a ſeparate narrative we are draw-
" ing up.

" Thus it appears, that the only error of the
" Committee, under all theſe dangers and difficul-
" ties, was, the poſtponing for four and twenty
" hours, the Report on which they had reſolved.
" This Report, however, might, perhaps, have only
" produced new misfortunes to the Committee
" themſelves, who could only have declared to the
" Council their full conviction of the fact, and
" have detailed various anonymous, though very
" certain intelligence. Thoſe members who were
" connected with the triumvirs, would have riſen
" up againſt us for having dared to accuſe, with-
" out legal proof, the firſt authorities of the great-
" eſt of crimes. We ſhould have been called *Ca-*
" *lumniators*, enemies to the conſtitution, and point-
" ed out as the only true conſpirators. The tem-
" porizers and the incredulous, among whom muſt
" be included the leading members of the Council

" of

" of Ancients, would at leaſt have taxed us with " imprudence and viſionary deluſion; Augereau " would equally have performed his *general exerciſe*, " which ſerved as the veil to his military operations; " the Directory would, in a meſſage replete with " perfidy, have offered a fallacious juſtification of " themſelves, and no doubt would have brought an " accuſation againſt the Committee; and thus the " Council would have recompenſed our zeal and " devotion to our duty, by paſſing to the order of " the day, or even, perhaps, by a vote of cenſure. " In ſhort, all France would have been convinced, " that we had, at leaſt, made a very bungling bu- " ſineſs of our commiſſion.

" None of theſe reflections had eſcaped us, and " we perceived the whole danger of the ſtep we were " taking; but we ſhould have been certain of at " leaſt poſtponing the execution of the enterpriſe, " and of gaining an invaluable interval of time. " We even hoped afterwards to procure ſufficient " proofs to open the eyes of the Councils, and of " the nation at large. Our ſelf-love, and our in- " tereſt, could not therefore, for an inſtant, prevail " againſt ſuch weighty conſiderations. We had " already made up our minds to all theſe ſacrifices,

" and

" and even to that of our lives: nor can our ſubſe-
" quent conduct leave any doubt of the truth of
" this aſſertion.

" Yet, after weighing both ſides of the account,
" I conſider the actual reſult of theſe events as for-
" tunate for our country. We, indeed, are moſt
" cruelly become the victims of this convulſion,
" but we are the only victims: all thoſe who were
" included in the ſame decree, are either concealed
" in France itſelf, or have withdrawn into neigh-
" bouring countries, and may in greater ſafety, and
" more at their eaſe, wait for the fall of this Direc-
" torial tyranny. We alone are under its laſh,
" which is ready to fall upon us on the leaſt ſignal
" from the tyrants.

" Our countrymen, a part of whom have ſuf-
" fered themſelves to be ſo much deceived relative
" to our conduct, will now learn the true object of
" that perfidious faction, and the maſs of evils our
" reſiſtance prevented. Thus they may, at length,
" decide which party acted with the pureſt inten-
" tions. Had we raiſed an armed force againſt
" them, a civil war would have been the conſe-
" quence. The ſoldiers, miſled by the calumnies
" with which the triumvirs overwhelmed them,

" would

" would have indulged in the cruelleſt exceſſes,
" and the impoſtors would again have found it
" eaſy to lay the calamities of the country to our
" charge. But we will leave it to the operation of
" time to open the eyes of the troops. The actions
" of thoſe who now deceive them, will powerfully
" concur in producing this effect; and the armies
" themſelves will ſoon unite with the reſt of the
" nation, from which ſo much pains have been
" taken to ſeparate them, to throw off this ſhameful
" yoke. Our moſt ardent wiſh is, that this may take
" place without too violent a ſhock, and more
" eſpecially without effuſion of blood.—Alas! the
" blood of my countrymen is perhaps flowing,
" even now while I am writing, eſpecially on
" the frontiers of the empire. For, it is highly
" probable, the foreign powers will no longer
" have been willing to negotiate with perjured
" governors, who have violated the laws them-
" ſelves have inſtituted, and with uſurpers
" that are unworthy of any confidence whatever.
" Hence the war will probably have been renewed
" with increaſed fury, and all the calamities that have
" already accompanied it will again pour in upon
" our devoted country, which has been too much

" exhauſted to be able to ſupport this new criſis.
" This idea in ſome meaſure embitters the conſo-
" lations we derive from the hopes of an approach-
" ing change in its ſituation, and I am more eſpe-
" cially afflicted with the idea that all I poſſeſs, all
" that ſtill attaches me to that miſerable country, is
" under the laſh of deſpots, whom circumſtances
" will ſoon furniſh with ſo many pretexts for in-
" dulging their deſtructive paſſions. Calumny
" and perſecution will now be let looſe againſt
" every one that is connected with us; but equally
" pure with ourſelves, you will, like us, riſe ſupe-
" rior to the tranſient events of the day, and the
" fury of our enemies will break their force againſt
" the reſiſtleſs force of your virtues. With ſuch
" energy you will be certain of triumphing; for
" moſt aſſuredly virtue, and an adherence to the
" principles of order and morality, will at length
" prevail.

" Adieu! I muſt put an end to this fancied
" converſation with my dear friend, for my letter
" is called for. Endeavour to conſole my unfortu-
" nate Suſan, and preſs my Emilius in thy arms.
" If I muſt, indeed, meet my fate in diſtant cli-
" mates, remind my children, that if I have fallen
" a victim

" a victim to the tyranny of men, they ought only
" to endeavour to revenge my death by exerting
" their utmoſt efforts, like their father, to be uſe-
" ful to their country.

" Embrace all our friends for me; tell them
" that nothing ſhall ever diminiſh my attachment
" to them.

(Signed) " De la Rue."

DEPARTURE FROM PARIS,

AND

VOYAGE TO GUIANA.

THE deported perſons ſet off by night for the place of their baniſhment. Murinais, ſupported by one of his colleagues, entered the iron carriage in which he was to travel, with perfect firmneſs. " You will be very uncomfortable here," ſaid Du Coudray: " Oh, no!" replied the old man, " there is comfort every where for thoſe whoſe " conſciences are at reſt." Augereau now approaching Le Tellier, ſaid to him, " For the laſt time I " adviſe you to reflect on what you are about to " engage in; are you abſolutely determined to " follow this deported man?" (pointing to Barthélemy.) " I have no need of reflection," replied Le Tellier; " I have never deſerted my maſter in " proſperity, nor will I abandon him in adverſity." —" He is a madman," ſaid Augereau; " let him " go."

" What right have you to tranſport me?" ſaid La Vilheurnois to the Miniſter Sottin: " I have " been tried, and your laws do not authorize this " arbitrary

" arbitrary meaſure,"—" *Our* laws!" ſaid Sottin, laughing; " are they not your laws alſo?"—" No, " Sir," replied he; " I do not aſſociate myſelf with " ſuch miſcreants."—" That," ſaid Sottin, " is the " very reaſon why theſe *miſcreants* ſend you to " Guiana."—" They will one day come there," added he, " and fill our places; but they will not " enjoy the ſame tranquillity with ourſelves."

The wife of one of the deported perſons, not knowing her huſband had ſet off during the night, waited on Reubell at ſeven in the morning to requeſt a reprieve. Reubell had himſelf ſigned the order for his departure; yet inſtead of correcting her miſtake, he was mean and baſe enough to promiſe the delay ſhe requeſted: thus, when ſhe went to the Temple to announce her ſucceſs to her huſband, ſhe found a note from him which diſſipated the illuſion.

The deported perſons were almoſt every where thrown into the darkeſt dungeons; at Orleans, however, they received the ſtrongeſt marks of affection and eſteem; means were even ſought to enable them to eſcape; but as they could not all be ſaved, the friends of Willot and De la Rue propoſed to furniſh them with the means of ſafety; this, however, they refuſed without heſitation, fearing

fearing thereby to aggravate the misfortunes of their colleagues; and Barbé-Marbois, Pichegru, La Vilheurnois, and Aubry, imitated their generous example a few days after.

Pichegru had three different opportunities of escaping. At Blois he received a note in the following terms: "General, it is in your power to "quit the prison where you are confined; a horse "is ready for you to mount, and you may escape "by assuming another name, in which a passport "shall be provided: if you accept the propofal, "approach the guard as soon as you have "read this note, and wear your hat as a mark of "your acquiescence; in that case be dressed and "awake at two o'clock in the morning." Pichegru, however, approached the guard without his hat; the person who would have saved him, beheld him with admiration, and went his way.

Madame Barbé-Marbois came from Metz, as far as Blois, where, after a very long journey, she obtained permission to see her husband. She found the deported persons in the most deplorable condition, and devoted all her care to procure some alleviations for their miseries. On her arrival at Paris, she threw herself at the feet of the tyrants, and burst into tears. They promised

every

every thing ſhe aſked, and Merlin aſſured her he would ſend a courier with freſh orders. Yet no change was made in thoſe already given, and the deported perſons continued their route overwhelmed with the moſt ignominious treatment.

When Madame Barbé-Marbois left the priſon of Blois, an officer of gendarmerie offered her his hand, upon which General Du Tertre, commandant of the eſcort, ordered this worthy and feeling officer under arreſt, and a few days after caſhiered him.

This Du Tertre, who had but recently been liberated from the gallies, had been appointed by Augereau to take charge of his victims. This man pocketted the money entruſted to him for their travelling expenſes, and plundered them in the moſt ſhameleſs manner. Two months previous to its fall the old Directory ſeemed to recollect this robbery. Du Tertre was arreſted, and ordered to give an account of the monies he had received, but he only replied by *Jacobitiſh* declamation; and Augereau having made an application in his behalf, he was liberated after a fortnight's impriſonment.

Rovère's wife, then in the eighth month of her pregnancy, followed her huſband to Rochefort, where

where ſhe unfortunately arrived too late, the corvette having already ſailed. This excellent woman, in even her delicate ſituation, afforded a rare example of conjugal tenderneſs. O you, that might incline to judge too ſeverely of her conduct, hearken to the voice of candour, and ſuſpend the ſeverity of your deciſions. Madame Rovère, it is true, was formerly divorced—but had you been witneſſes of her dauntleſs fortitude and affectionate attachment, you would forget her errors, and convert your cenſure into admiration. Men of generoſity and worth! women of ſenſibility and virtue! ye whoſe boſoms heave with the ſacred impulſes of nature, and ſwell with the reciprocities of affection, ah! if ye have experienced the delights or the torments of love, if his reſiſtleſs fire ever melted your ſouls, come and weep over the fate of this hapleſs lover! 'Tis you alone I addreſs—let thoſe who are dead to ſenſibility, be deaf alſo to my pleading.

Rovère's wife, as I have already ſaid, arrived at Rochefort when the corvette had juſt ſailed. She now wildly beheld that ocean which divided her from the only object of her love.—She could no longer contemplate his cheriſhed features, nor hang upon his accuſtomed voice. For a moment

her fancy ſeemed to perceive the veſſel that bore him from her view, and her ſoul ſeemed ready to ſtart forth and take its flight to mingle with that of her beloved huſband.

Two months paſſed on without receiving any news from him: this was a dreadful interval of anxiety and of horror! In vain did ſhe, together with her unfortunate companions, implore the pity and compaſſion of the tyrants, for information whither they had ſent him. Tyrants are inacceſſible to thoſe tender feelings.

At length, however, a letter from her huſband arrived, and ſhe learnt that Cayenne was the country that held him. Inſtantly the deſerts of Sinamary aſſumed the ſmiling charms of nature's richeſt ſcenery, and at Sinamary ſhe determined to fix her abode, and participate in his fate.—Deaf to every motive that diſſuaded her from ſo bold an enterpriſe, her only happineſs was beyond the ſeas; and the wilds of Guiana ſeemed to her more deſirable than the poſſeſſion of the univerſe. Her unexampled courage ſeemed to nerve the minds of every one around her; her female attendants, the nurſe that foſtered her child, her aged footman, no one would conſent to deſert her. At length ſhe yielded to their entreaties, and they all ſailed for Guiana. The veſſel in which they ſailed

was taken by the Engliſh—but the Engliſh reſpected her misfortunes. The motives of her voyage being explained, inſtead of treating her as an enemy, they generouſly offered her the beſt and ſureſt means of arriving at the place of her deſtination.—Thus once more ſhe embarked with a ſerene ſky and a tranquil ſea, and all things ſeemed to whiſper that every peril was at an end. But the Almighty, who looks down from the heavens above, and accepts the repentance and remorſe of his creatures here below, yet extends not impunity beyond the bounds of juſtice and mercy. Rovère was now in momentary expectation again to embrace his beloved wife, again to preſs his children to his boſom in Tranſatlantic exile, and thus all his ſuffering ſeemed to be brought to a cloſe. But he had been guilty of too many crimes to be thus rewarded. The pardon, for which he breathed forth the ſigh of repentance from the bottom of his heart, demanded a ſtriking atonement. The gates of Eternity were about to be opened to him, and it was neceſſary he ſhould firſt meet ſome exemplary puniſhment for his crimes. His wife arrived, and Rovère, knowing ſhe would land on the ſhores of Cayenne, went eagerly to meet her, and throw himſelf into her arms: but the

Divine

Divine juſtice was heavy upon his head; the hand of God ſtruck him, and he ceaſed to exiſt.

On the arrival of the deported perſons at Rochefort, they were immediately embarked. In vain did they ſolicit a few hours delay to receive the neceſſaries their friends were bringing them. Their jailors were inflexible; and they ſet ſail without the moſt requiſite accommodations. An hour or two after their departure, the ſon of Laffond-Ladébat and the brother-in-law of De la Rue (Neuville) arrived. The corvette had already made conſiderable way, and was no longer in ſight. The two youths were now quite inconſolable; and even the ſailors of Rochefort were ſo much affected as to weep at their misfortunes. They flattered them, however, that a ray of hope ſtill remained. "The "ſea is very rough," ſaid they; "the wind is "contrary for the corvette, and ſhe muſt caſt "anchor at a certain diſtance from the ſhore. "You may therefore ſtill have an opportunity of "boarding her." This propoſal was inſtantly ſeized with avidity. But a new obſtacle now preſented itſelf: they could not board the corvette without a permit from the Director of the Marine, who was then at Rochelle.

Without further loſs of time, however, one of

the youths repaired thither, and ſolicited a permit; but was anſwered, that the deported had already got out to ſea, and that they had certainly not brought to. Upon this he applied to the ſailors, who conſulted the weather with the ſame friendly wiſhes with thoſe of Rochefort, and concurred in the ſame opinion. The Director of the Marine, therefore, no longer refuſed, and the permit was granted.

Neuville now returned to Rochefort; and, together with young Ladébat, was eager to embark. But a cruel fatality ſtill purſued them: for the ſea was extremely rough, and the danger ſeemed very great. In vain did the ſailors endeavour to diſſuade them: they perſiſted in their object; till at length a boatman, influenced by the love of gain and the earneſtneſs of their entreaties, took them on board his little bark. At their departure, a great number of perſons crowded round them; one to ſend fifty louis d'ors to Willot, another to convey a rouleau to Pichegru, and a third (making no diſtinction of perſons) to alleviate the fate of all the deported. All kinds of aids were offered them; but their boat would ſcarcely contain what was abſolutely neceſſary. At length it left the ſhore, watched by the eyes of the beholders with the moſt lively intereſt,

while

while hope ſeemed to waſt the two friends on the waves. At length they perceived the corvette, and their hearts rebounded with joy. But when they got within hail they were ordered not to approach. Upon this, though they were forced to lie down in the boat, to avoid the waves that broke over them, they roſe, and held up a paper, to ſhow they had a permit to board the corvette. To that ſignal however they only received this cruel anſwer: "*If* "*you approach the corvette I will fire on you. Come* "*on board of me.*" The voice proceeded from the lugger that accompanied the corvette. They went on board; and, having delivered their money and other preſents, they were ordered to go back. In vain did Laffond-Ladébat, who from the cockpit heard his ſon's voice, ſolicit permiſſion to ſee him, and preſs him to his boſom. In vain did the affectionate youth beg upon his knees to ſee his father. In vain did he exclaim, "Let me at leaſt receive "his bleſſing." He was coldly anſwered in theſe words: "*Return to Rochefort.*"—The poor ſailor who conducted them made for land, his eyes overflowing with tears; while the two youths, ſtill fixing theirs upon the corvette, ſought to meet thoſe of an affectionate father, a virtuous friend.

In the mean while, the deported flattered themſelves

ſelves with hopes of a ſpeedy return to their native country; and one of them wrote the following lines during the paſſage, addreſſed to the hoary-headed General Murinais, whoſe health was already conſiderably impaired:

AIR.—*Femmes, voulez-vous éprouver.*

Malgré nos cruels ennemis,
Nous reverrons un jour la France;
Pour vos parens, pour vos amis,
Conſervez bien votre exiſtence.
Ah! puiſſent nos ſoins aſſidus
Long-tems prolonger votre vie!
Vous devez encore vos vertus
Et vos talens à la patrie.

IMITATED.

In ſpite of cruel-hearted foes,
Again our homes ſhall glad our ſight;
Thy friends', thy kindred's deep-felt woes,
To cheriſh lingering life invite.
Ah! may our tender anxious cares
Thy valued days, thy years prolong!
Each breeze to thee wafts Gallia's pray'rs,
To her thy virtues ſtill belong.

Theſe lines drew tears from the eyes of the worthy General.

The affecting letter which De la Rue wrote to his wife from on board La Vaillante will give ſome idea of the dreadful ſituation of the deported on board of the corvette.

Letter from De la Rue to his Wife.

" From the 7th Vendémaire to the 18th Brumaire, in the Year VI.

" No, my deareſt wife, no baniſhment, no im-
" paſſable deſert, can ſeparate two ſouls whoſe
" union is formed by love and eſteem, and ce-
" mented by the moſt perfect ſympathy. Hence
" my fortitude was equal to bearing all the attacks
" of adverſity, as long as I could indulge a hope
" of our performing this fatal voyage together.
" This alone, added to the teſtimony of a pure
" conſcience, gave me that ſtrength of mind which
" has aſtoniſhed even my companions in misfor-
" tune. But I confeſs that, from the moment when
" our ſudden embarkation, which was performed
" with equal abruptneſs and ferocity, deſtroyed
" this ſoothing hope which we ſo fondly cheriſhed,
" my energy has deſerted me; and every moment
" that

" that increaſes the diſtance between us, is an
" additional affliction. Would that every day's
" reckoning of our log-book were an equal ad-
" vance towards the tomb! for there alone can I
" find repoſe, or a period to the ſufferings I en-
" dure. Two days it ſeemed to be yawning be-
" neath my feet. Ah! why did it cloſe without
" ſwallowing me up? The elements, rebelling
" againſt the commands of the tyrants, have thrice
" brought us back within ſight of port; thrice
" have they, by the moſt dreadful ſtorms, made
" our captain repent of his raſhneſs in braving the
" equinoctial hurricanes; and it is to this obſtinate
" reſiſtance to his will that I am indebted for the
" receipt of your letter. How grateful am I to your
" brother for his zeal in bringing it to me! Wor-
" thy Neuville! he has braved a thouſand dan-
" gers to communicate the laſt conſolations of
" friendſhip. Among the objects for which I am
" indebted to his activity, although all are objects
" of the moſt urgent neceſſity, I only looked for,
" I only beheld, I only eagerly inquired for,
" your letter. It was the tardy reward of three
" days of ſolicitation and of deſpair. A barbarous
" order deprived us of every thing that was brought
" for our conſolation or relief, until, having got

" out

" out to open ſea, we had no means of communi-
" cation with the ſhore. We were in the latitude
" of the coaſt of Spain when I obtained this letter,
" for which I ſo eagerly panted. To that boon I
" ſacrificed every other object; nor indeed was it
" poſſible to pay for it ſufficiently dear. The
" captain choſe to retain poſſeſſion of all the reſt
" till we ſhould arrive.

" How many times have I not read over and
" over this kind, this affecting letter! With how
" many tears have I not bathed it! Yes, all my
" unfortunate companions bathed it too in theirs.
" Every day, every hour, and every minute, I recur
" to it for conſolation; yet I fear only to find in
" it new cauſe of grief and of regret. The greater
" the tenderneſs and energy with which it pour-
" trays your ſenſibility and attachment, the greater,
" the more elevated your mind appears, the leſs
" am I able to bear the horrors of a ſeparation.

" You cannot form to yourſelf an idea of all we
" ſuffer in every poſſible way, and eſpecially in
" regard to food and lodging. Crowded, all ſix-
" teen of us, into a ſpace eighteen feet by thirteen,
" our hammocks are ſo cloſe to each other, that
" when any one of us moves it diſturbs and ſhakes

" all the reſt; and the lowneſs of the deck above
" us, which is but four feet high, expoſes us to an
" additional torment: for into this cavern, armed
" with beams, againſt which we knock our heads
" a hundred times a day, no air is admitted, but
" by an aperture two feet ſquare in the upper deck,
" and which ſerves at once for door and window.
" The only ſteps are a poſt with notches two
" inches deep; and thus are the old and the infirm
" obliged to crawl up and down, at the riſk of
" every moment breaking their limbs, if the
" ſtrongeſt of us did not frequently receive them
" in our arms, and give them continual aſſiſtance.
" Fortunately, our tyrants are not ſtrictly obeyed.
" It was their intention that we ſhould not quit
" this mephitic cavern for more than two hours
" per day, and they hoped to crowd us into it to
" the number of thirty-ſix. The whole crew ex-
" pected that number; for it had been ſo an-
" nounced ſome days previous to our departure
" from Paris. This outrage had therefore been
" long before reſolved on, and its perpetrators had
" calculated on a greater number of victims.
" Had their intentions been completed, the plague
" would certainly have broken out in our dun-
" geon,

" geon, which will doubtleſs become a burning
" furnace whenever we arrive within the tropic.
" Our manner of living is, if poſſible, accom-
" panied with ſtill more atrocious barbarities; not
" ſatisfied with putting us on the allowance of
" galley convicts, the crew were ſuffered to want
" the moſt indiſpenſable neceſſaries for a voyage;
" they are kept upon the moſt unwholeſome and
" the moſt damaged proviſions; no oppreſſion of
" this kind has been omitted. Biſcuit five years
" old, and rejected by every other ſhip, is our
" chief food; and beans of the kind uſually given
" to horſes, half boiled in corrupted water, are
" our moſt delicate diſh. This regimen has, as
" you may eaſily imagine, much increaſed the
" evils of ſea-ſickneſs, which none of us eſcaped;
" I am among thoſe who ſuffered the leaſt, owing
" to the good ſtock of health I poſſeſſed, and to
" my habitual temperance. We ſhould certainly
" have all of us ſunk under this accumulation of
" evils (and that was doubtleſs the ſecret intention
" of the inſtructions given), had not the crew,
" and more eſpecially the officers, been moved
" with compaſſion for our condition; the reſigna-
" tion and dignity of our conduct diſarmed them,

" and at length they began to appreciate facts and
" perſons more juſtly, and to diſcover who were the
" true culprits in the events of which we were the
" victims. From that time we received all the aſſiſt-
" ance and alleviation in their power, which, how-
" ever, was unfortunately confined within very
" narrow limits; deſtitute themſelves of the moſt
" needful conveniencies, owing to the precipita-
" tion of our departure, their good will towards
" us was very often without effect; we received,
" however, more aſſiſtance from the ſailors, who
" in general are better able to endure privations,
" and the majority of whom gave up to us their
" ſlender ſtock of proviſions. It is true theſe in-
" dulgences were a conſiderable charge upon our
" purſes, but it would be ungrateful to complain,
" for the ſervices we received from them were
" invaluable. Of theſe the moſt important to me
" were a pound of bread per day, and a few glaſſes
" of wholeſome water; to this, and to a few
" morſels of cheeſe, againſt which my natural
" antipathy in vain rebelled, I am indebted for
" the preſervation of that life which I reſerve to
" contribute to your happineſs, and which I ſtill
" value on your account, and on your account
" excluſively.

" Endeavour

" Endeavour ſpeedily to let me poſſeſs a portrait " of you, for my eyes are envious of my heart, " where your image is conſtantly preſent; I do " not aſk for that of our children, as they are ſo " young that their features will not long retain " their preſent form; but I hope you will indulge " me with a ring of the dog's-collar kind, orna- " mented with your hair and that of thoſe dear " little creatures. If you would ſtill enhance the " favour, you will add a ſecond ring with your " mother's hair, together with my father's and " mine; to theſe preſents, which are the moſt " invaluable I can receive, you may add ſome " pecuniary aid, provided your own occaſions, " thoſe of our children, and of my father and " mother, which I would ſee firſt ſatisfied, will " permit. You will purſue the ſame ſteps as " Meſdames Laffond, Rovère, and Aubry, who, " perhaps, will prefer ſending ſuch merchandiſe as " may be eaſily diſpoſed of in the colony; theſe I " will mention to you, if a letter on that ſubject " can be ſent by the ſame opportunity, as ſoon as " I ſhall have landed, and ſeen the nature of the " country whither we are going.

" I ſhould never conclude if I gave a looſe to " all the emotions I feel; now that I am liberated

" from

" from every purſuit of buſineſs, my imagination
" is ever buſied with you alone, and without inter-
" miſſion; but with you every pleaſure is departed,
" and I am even deprived of that of which ſcarcely
" any victim of misfortune is robbed, and which
" from time to time ſuſpends their ſufferings, for it
" is but by ſtealth that I can commit my thoughts
" and my ſorrows to paper; and this letter, which,
" notwithſtanding the innumerable precautions I
" have taken for its ſecurity, will, perhaps, never
" reach you, is written, as you will eaſily per-
" ceive, at twenty different times; had I purſued
" any other method, I ſhould in a ſingle minute
" loſe the fruits of a month of vigilance.

" Adieu! my charming friend, adieu! with
" what pain do I trace the word! perhaps, too,
" for the laſt time I ſhall ever write it! Ah! let me
" baniſh the heart-rending idea! ah! let not our
" correſpondence ever ceaſe, except it be by thy
" preſence in an hoſpitable country, where, having
" eſcaped the power of the wicked, we may be
" again united in the bonds of love. Receive,
" as the pledge of this my ardent wiſh, a thou-
" ſand imaginary kiſſes, impreſs them on the lovely
" cheeks of your dear little children, and tenderly

" embrace

" embrace for me my ſiſter-in-law and your bro-
" thers, and expreſs my ſincere gratitude to all
" thoſe who take any intereſt in my fate. Let our
" friend often ſee N. M——, the worthy Dau—,
" R—— Dal—— Card——, and particularly
" B—— V——; tell him to remember me to
" L—— B—— Cl—— A——.

(Signed) " De la Rue."

THE

THE

SITUATION OF THE DEPORTED AT GUIANA.

BY ONE OF THE DEPORTED PERSONS.

AMONG the various intellectual improvements that have ſprung up with the progreſs of ſcience and philoſophy, the ſyſtem of criminal legiſlation ought to have undergone ſuch a reform as would have proved equally beneficial to the intereſts of the accuſed and the tranquillity of the public. Of ſuch a reform, the principles have already been laid down by various philoſophical writers (and in particular the celebrated Beccaria), who have deduced them from the eternal laws of juſtice and of reaſon: all, therefore, that remained to be done, was to apply theſe principles to practice in the code of criminal juſtice.

The true object of all puniſhments is the ſecurity of the body politic, and of all its component parts; the maintenance of order and juſtice, and the improvement of the morals of the people.

Puniſh-

Puniſhments ſhould not only be proportioned to the nature of the crimes committed, but muſt alſo be previouſly declared by the law before they can be juſtly inflicted; nor ought this to take place till after a trial, the preſcribed forms of which are calculated to be the guardians of innocence and the avengers of crimes.

Theſe principles, which conſtitute the very baſis of ſocial order, have already been ſufficiently demonſtrated; and can neither be denied nor forgotten without burſting aſunder every bond by which human ſociety is held together.

I will not, therefore, here attempt to pourtray the innumerable inſtances in which theſe ſacred principles have been violated. Woe to that nation where the laws are dictated by the factions that convulſe it, merely according to the dictates of their revenge, or of their own unruly paſſions! for there will innocence ſhrink with horror, and the criminal redouble his audacious effrontery.

The deportation to the French territories in Guiana, ſubſtituted by the Convention for the penalty of death, which ſome of their members had incurred, was only applied in the caſes of Billaud-Varennes and Collot d'Herbois; the reſt of thoſe

who were then accuſed eſcaped this new mode of puniſhment, and eluded the decree by which it was enacted.

As the Convention united in itſelf all the power of the ſtate, it purſued no other rule than its own ſovereign will, and pronounced ſentence of baniſhment, deſtruction, or death, according to the paſſions which for the time predominated at their deliberations. Billaud, Collot, and the reſt of the perſons who were implicated, were accuſed and were heard in their defence; yet they themſelves proteſted againſt this violation of the power with which they, in common with their colleagues, were inveſted.

Collot and Billaud were deported to Guiana; Collot died at Cayenne, but Billaud-Varennes is ſtill living. Both theſe men were treated with great ſeverity during their paſſage, and their captain was not more humane towards them than was Captain La Porte towards us; but on their arrival at Guiana they enjoyed, the former till his death, and the latter to the preſent time, the ſame fare as is given to the marines, and an allowance fully adequate to their wants; further, no reſtraint was required of them, and an order of the Directory particu-

particularly enjoined their agents and the conſtituted authorities in no wiſe to infringe on their full liberty within the French territories in Guiana *.

At firſt ſight, the ſubſtitution of deportation for death, appears an act of beneficence; their lives are ſaved, and conſequently ſome hopes remain of ſeeing better days; they may apply to various uſeful occupations, and thus they may ſtill endeavour to advance their own fortunes and thoſe of their country. Such are the colours under which deportation to Guiana has been repreſented to the nation, both at the tribune of the Legiſlative Body, and in the proclamations and orders of the Directory.

But it is time theſe unſubſtantial illuſions ſhould be diſſipated; firſt, by a few general obſervations, and ſecondly, by a ſimple ſtatement of the actual ſituation of the deported in this diſtant colony.

When men of vigorous minds and conſtitutions, and in the flower of life, have committed ſuch crimes as are deſerving of capital puniſhment, deportation is doubtleſs an act of clemency; but then they ought not to be ſent to a colony eſtabliſhed

* Extract of an order of the Directory of the 24th Brumaire, in the year 4.—"Art. III. The agents of the government are expreſsly enjoined to permit the Ex-deputies Collot d'Herbois and Billaud to enjoy full liberty in Guiana."

for purpoſes of agriculture and commerce, ſince they might diſturb the tranquillity of the planters with ſo much the more eaſe, as the repreſſing power is leſs active there than in the mother-country; hence, too, they might the more eaſily diſperſe abroad the ſeeds of their own vices and crimes. In this point of view, the deportation of criminals to a colony already in exiſtence, is a violation of the guaranty which is due from the body politic to its foreign planters, as well as to all its other conſtituent parts: thus the ſyſtem of deportation might more eſpecially have produced moſt diſaſtrous conſequences to thoſe colonies, where the laborious claſſes have been lately emancipated; where the firſt enjoyment of liberty, as repreſented to, and experienced by them, conſiſts merely in licentiouſneſs, in the deſertion of their labours and duties, and in giving an unbounded looſe to paſſions; to colonies whoſe defective ſyſtem of legiſlation, inceſſantly changing and incoherent, and either impoſſible to be executed, or not actually enforced, has as yet ſcarcely exceeded a few ineffectual regulations of police, wholly inſufficient to re-eſtabliſh the regular purſuits of labour, or to accompliſh the repreſſion and puniſhment of crimes.

Such

Such is the ſituation of the French colony in Guiana, notwithſtanding the deluſive repreſentations with which the Legiſlative Body have been amuſed.

Further, deportation to a country whoſe climate is deſtructive to its inhabitants, is but a mode of ſentencing the unfortunate victims to a lingering and painful death, and to a tedious prolongation of the ſtruggles of diſſolution: thus cruelly to multiply the pangs of dying, is, in fact, no other than to condemn them to a thouſand deaths.

Criminals, then, who are condemned by the law, ought to be deported only to a colony appropriated ſolely to that object, in a climate not deſtructive to its inhabitants, and where ſevere but juſt laws will induce them to adopt a life of induſtry, and to reform their characters. Puniſhment and terror are the vital principles of tyranny *. But the prevention and the correction of crimes, and the rendering even the criminal uſeful to his country—this alone ſhould be the end propoſed in a criminal ſyſtem of juriſprudence, under a Government inſtituted by juſtice and formed by wiſdom.

* See on this ſubject the Report of Bailleul, on the 18th Fructidor.

In ſuch a colony every inſtitution ought to be directed to the correction of the criminals themſelves. Specific rewards ſhould be held out to them, not even excepting liberty to return home after a certain period of good behaviour and of uſeful induſtry.

Such were the views of the Britiſh Legiſlature in eſtabliſhing the colony of Botany Bay.

But to deport the members of the National Repreſentation without ſentence, trial, or accuſation; to deport Prieſts, and old and infirm men, merely on account of their religious opinions; to deport men of letters and journaliſts, when the liberty of the preſs and of public cenſure ought to have been the pledge of their inviolable ſecurity; to deport men whom no exiſting law condemned, and to deport them to a colony where the atmoſphere is corrupted by a ſtagnant and defective cultivation, where none but blacks can endure the ſlighteſt labour and fatigue, and even to place them in the moſt unhealthy ſpot of that colony, and confound them with criminals actually condemned to death or to the gallies, is at once to violate the conſtitution, the liberty which forms its baſis, and every principle

principle of ſocial order, of humanity, and of juſtice.

Such, however, was the character and effect of the law of the 19th Fructidor, and of the orders given for putting it in force, whether by the Directory and their miniſters, or by their agent in the French colony of Guiana.

Sixteen of the perſons proſcribed by that law, were, on the 21ſt Fructidor, put into cages conſtructed of gratings, and thus conveyed from the priſon of the Temple to the port of Rochefort, traverſing France as though they had been the vileſt of criminals. The commandant of the eſcort received the requiſite ſupplies of money for their ſupport and other expenſes on the road: but to entruſt ſo delicate a commiſſion to a baſe and immoral character, to place theſe funds in the hands of a man recently liberated from the gallies of Toulon, was effectually to preclude all poſſibility of the money being applied to the ſacred purpoſe for which it was deſtined; it was, in fact, to order that the deported ſhould be left deſtitute of every requiſite comfort and accommodation. This order, alas! was moſt cruelly put in force: for in every town we were thruſt into the

the darkeſt dungeon, and fed on the coarſeſt of food.

At length, crowded one upon another, in the between-decks of a corvette, we had no other food, during a moſt dreadful voyage of fifty-two days, than the refuſe biſcuit of the convicts on board the Rochefort gallies, ſome ſpoiled meal, wild beans (called Gourgannes), and ſtinking water. But to every complaint the Captain replied, "*If I execute the orders I have received, thoſe "villains will not all of them arrive at Guiana.*"

At length we landed at Cayenne, almoſt all of us ſick. Here we expected to enjoy our full liberty; but in this we were diſappointed. We were ſent to the hoſpital, and placed under a guard of ſoldiers, without being permitted to go out, except into an adjoining field; nor were we allowed to receive any viſitors. We obtained, however, all the accommodations which the kind-hearted women who ſuperintended the eſtabliſhment could procure us; and the inhabitants were eager to give us the moſt affecting proofs of the concern they felt for our misfortunes. Theſe few days were to us an interval of the ſweeteſt conſolation.

We

We were ſoon informed, however, by Jeannet, the Agent of the Directory, that he was about to ſend us to Sinamary, a ſettlement ſituated about twenty-five leagues to the north-weſtward of Cayenne, on the river of Sinamary, and ſomething leſs than a league from the ſea.

The order for this ſecond tranſportation was not ſent to us, nor was it till after our arrival at Sinamary that it was communicated to us. (See Appendix, No. 1.)

We were told that Sinamary was the healthieſt ſpot in the colony. But previous to our departure, Laffond-Ladébat, and Tronçon-du Coudray, wrote to the Agent, repreſenting that the law of the 19th Fructidor, and even the order of the Directory, appointing that we ſhould be deported to Guiana, did not direct that we ſhould be kept priſoners there, and that therefore they had a right to their full liberty. They might alſo have appealed to the order in favour of Billaud and of Collot; but their feelings, and the purity of their own conduct, compelled them to reject all compariſon of themſelves with thoſe too famous members of the Committee of Public Safety. Laffond-Ladébat's letter was couched in the following terms:

" We have been informed that it is your inten-
" tion to fix our abode at Sinamary. Were our
" exiſtence alone to be conſidered, we ſhould have
" cauſe to thank you for this choice; but, as to
" myſelf, I think it my duty to offer you a few ob-
" ſervations.

" The decree which condemns us to deportation,
" allows us, as I have already obſerved, the free
" diſpoſal of our property from the time of our ar-
" rival at the place of our deportation. But this
" permiſſion would be a mere mockery, if we are
" to be ſo ſituated that it would be impoſſible to
" exerciſe it. I am ignorant what orders you may
" have received, but I have reaſon to believe
" Guiana is ſpoken of generally, and therefore our
" particular abode ought to depend on the kind of
" induſtry we may be deſirous of purſuing.

" I will not here ſtate how little connected, or,
" rather, how totally diſconnected we ſhall be.
" The contrariety of our opinions has already been
" ſufficiently apparent: you have been informed
" of it by the public prints. Time will throw more
" light on that ſyſtem of policy which has con-
" founded us together. Equals in misfortune, we
" have all an equal right to that liberty which
" the law has given us, as ſoon as we are arrived

" at

" at the place of our deportation; but nothing " can juſtify our being here united, except the " ſpecies of induſtry we are deſirous of under- " taking.

" To me, for inſtance, who have it in my " power, through my commercial connexions, to " be ſerviceable to the colony, it is important to " be ſituated in the only port where foreign trade " can be carried on: and this is the plan I have " formed. Marbois, Murinais, Tronçon-du- " Coudray, Barthélemy, and myſelf, had even, " previous to our quitting France, determined on " a project of a partnerſhip, in which we intended " to have included the cultivation of ſome planta- " tion of which we meant to apply for a grant or a " leaſe upon rent.

" Such having been our intentions, Citizen " Agent, it is highly probable thoſe of our friends, " who are apprized of them, may already have ex- " pedited us ſome conſignments.

" But our baniſhment to Sinamary condemns us " to a real impriſonment, fruſtrates all our plans, " and reduces us to the wretched condition of " being unable to purſue any uſeful ſpecies of in- " duſtry.

" At firſt I heard of a plantation belonging to " the State, and ſituated near the town, which " ſeemed completely adapted to our views. I " would have taken a leaſe of it upon rent, and " engaged to keep it in good condition; and we " would, all of us, have eagerly ſubſcribed any " engagements your vigilance might have deemed " neceſſary. This vigilance, I imagine, would " itſelf be thereby rendered more eaſy and ſecure, " and the nature of our purſuits would be a ſuf- " ficient pledge for our good conduct, if the wel- " fare of our families, and the free enjoyment of " our property, are not alone completely ſatisfactory. " It is the intereſt of the State that the deported " perſons be not a uſeleſs burden upon the colony, " but, on the contrary, that they ſhould give ad- " ditional vigour and activity, both to its com- " merce and agriculture, by all the means they " can combine together for that effect. I would " alſo add, that the ſituation of Sinamary is not " free from danger, both to us and to yourſelf, as " far as regards your reſponſibility, ſince it is liable " to be attacked by Engliſh privateers, and ſome " attempts of that nature have already been " actually made.

" I hope,

"I hope, therefore, Citizen Agent, that you "will ſeriouſly weigh theſe obſervations. I con- "ſider my baniſhment to Sinamary as a new ca- "lamity, ſince it condemns me to a ſtate of "perfect uſeleſſneſs, and my declining health "will unavoidably be extremely increaſed by "another ſea voyage."

The Agent, however, declared with the moſt poſitive aſſurances, that he had orders from the Government to ſend the deported perſons to Sinamary. Notwithſtanding the repreſentations and earneſt entreaties of Murinais, who ſeemed to have a preſentiment of his melancholy fate, all the deported perſons, except La Vilheurnois, who was unable to move a limb, were tranſported to Sinamary, where they arrived on the 6th Frimaire.

The diſtrict of Sinamary is in a ſtate of total ruin. About a ſcore of plantations, formerly ſituated on the banks of the river of the ſame name, are now entirely abandoned. The ſettlement, or town, is ſituated in the ſkirts of an uncultivated ſavanna, which lies to windward of it, and from which it is frequently infected with deleterious exhalations, ariſing from the ſtagnant waters in the hollows called *pris-pris*; the accumulations of mud on the N. N. E. coaſt, add to the unwholeſome-

neſs of the climate, eſpecially in the months of July, Auguſt, September, and October, during which the heat of the ſun is moſt powerful. At that ſeaſon there is no rain; but the breezes, which are regular, moderate the heat, and would render the climate ſupportable if they were not the vehicle of exhalations ariſing from the ſhallows, and from the mud accumulated by the ſea. At the time when the inhabitants had the requiſite reſources, and a ſufficient number of labourers, they uſed to burn the *pris-pris* while the waters were out, and thus prevented them from ſending forth mephitic exhalations. But during the three or four laſt years they have been unable to purſue this method; and to this cauſe muſt be chiefly attributed the impurity of the atmoſphere. A few houſes, or rather huts, conſiſting only of a ground floor, which are extremely damp during the long and rainy ſeaſon, and are throughout the year full of vermin, ſcorpions, ſnakes, and innumerable voracious inſects, are the only dwellings that compoſe the town.

Here all our hopes were at once moſt cruelly deſtroyed; for we now diſcovered that we had been purpoſely deceived in the moſt cruel and glaring manner. Laffond-Ladébat again wrote to the Agent to the following effect.

Letter

Letter from Laffond-Ladébat to Jeannet, Agent of the French Government at Cayenne.

" At the time when I addreſſed to you ſome " obſervations relative to our baniſhment to Sina- " mary, to which I received no anſwer, I was far " from conceiving that ſettlement to be in ſo " ruinous a ſtate. All the inhabitants are ſinking " in deſpair, nor can they even cultivate the neceſ- " ſary food to keep them from ſtarving; their plant- " ations are abandoned, their farm-yards almoſt " entirely deſtroyed, and the unwholeſomeneſs of " the air daily increaſes to a moſt alarming degree. " I conſider it as impoſſible we can long exiſt in " this ſpot; if the government have ordered that " we ſhould be placed here, we *muſt expect from* " *time and from eternal juſtice, that judgment which* " *the whole nation will form relative to their motives.*

" But if (though I am far from believing it) you " have of your own authority fixed this place for " our abode, I ſhall not heſitate to tell you, " Citizen Agent, *that you are the man our families* " *will accuſe of cauſing the death of thoſe among us,* " *who will infallibly become your victims.*"

We were all of us lodged in the old Preſbytery, where we were crowded together to the number of five in a room, which obliged ſome of us to ſeek for

for lodgings elſewhere. Nor was our reſidence at Sinamary more than a mere temporary or proviſory arrangement. We were to be changed about to the different parts of the colony till a ſpot was found which would moſt rapidly haſten our deſtruction, and ſend us in the ſhorteſt ſpace of time to the tomb. An engineer was ordered to ſeek out a ſpot, which would moſt completely unite all theſe *advantages*; and it was from the report of this engineer that the Directory at length fixed upon the ſettlement of Conanama for our reſidence. We ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak elſewhere of this grave of the human race.

It is aſſerted in France, that the perſons firſt deported had a ſpace of twenty leagues on all ſides, in the neighbourhood of Sinamary, which they were free to traverſe. The Agent's order allowed them to go on one ſide to Kourou, and on the other to Iracombo. This liberty, however, was rendered nugatory by an obligation impoſed on them to appear every five days before the commandant of Sinamary.

Though the victims of calamity ſhould naturally be united by their misfortunes, yet, by ſome cruel fatality, misfortunes generally produce a contrary effect. The deported had not long reſided at

Sinamary

Sinamary before diviſions ſprang up among them. One party reproached their colleagues with too much vehemence in the Senate, while the latter accuſed the former of having ruined their country by their apathy and lukewarmneſs.

Murinais and Laffond-Ladébat endeavoured to reconcile theſe differences; but Ramel, and Tronçon-du-Coudray, were conſtantly broaching contrary principles to thoſe of Willot, De la Rue, Pichegru, and Aubry; while Barbé-Marbois, and Barthélemy, remained almoſt neutral. In general, however, Barthélemy inclined towards Willot's party, and Barbé-Marbois to that of Du Coudray. Rovère ſpoke but little, and ſeemed abſorbed in melancholy reflections. La Vilheurnois bore his misfortunes with magnanimity, but was moſt intimate with Barthélemy and De la Rue. Bourdon de l'Oiſe quarrelled with every one, as well as with his own conſcience. Brothier maintained but little intimacy with La Vilheurnois, who had formerly been his friend; but he was inceſſantly diſputing with Ramel, and reminded him of his having participated in the denunciations of Malo. At this Ramel was extremely irritated, and replied with great aſperity. One day, as he was reproaching Brothier with his connexion with Billaud-Varennes,

Brothier haſtily replied, that there was no good reaſon why he ſhould not aſſociate with Billaud, ſince he was compelled to live with his denouncer*. Brothier, however, would have acted more wiſely, had he conſented to forget the paſt, and conſidered Ramel merely as his companion in misfortune. The Abbé Brothier, however, was entirely engroſſed with his mathematical ſtudies, and intended, whenever he ſhould return to France, to publiſh an elementary work on that branch of ſcience.

The worthy Le Tellier, of whom we have hitherto been ſilent, divided his attention between his maſter and the moſt aged of his deported companions, or, rather, he offered his ſervices indiſcriminately to them all. Doſſonville contradicted no one; and thoſe of the deported who eſcaped, owed their good fortune, in a great meaſure, to the good intelligence he kept up. Barbé-Marbois, Ladébat, De la Rue, Tronçon-du-Coudray, and Barthélemy, employed their minds chiefly in political ſtudies. La Vilheurnois was continually reading or walking; and General Pichegru amuſed

* It was doubtleſs to this private enmity that Brothier was indebted for the injuſtice with which Adjutant-general Ramel treats him in his "*Narrative.*" Ramel might indeed complain of his enemy; but he had no right to calumniate him by affecting to claſs him with Billaud-Varennes. *French Editor.*

himſelf

himſelf in learning Engliſh, an employment in which he ſeemed to take great pleaſure.

We were not long without experiencing the fatal effects of the climate we inhabited.

Murinais had arrived there in a moſt deplorable ſtate, and in this dreadful ſituation his illneſs could not fail to grow worſe. He wrote, therefore, to the Agent the following letter:

Letter from Murinais to Jeannet, Agent of the French Government at Cayenne.

" Arreſted by an arbitrary authority, in violation " of the conſtitutional laws, and of the rights of " man, and notwithſtanding the inviolability of my " perſon as a repreſentative of the people, I have " been included in a law of the 19th Fructidor, " ordering the deportation of fifty-two deputies, " unheard, without the Legiſlative Body pronoun- " cing Aye or No, agreeably to the forms preſcribed " in the Conſtitution on the validity of their accu- " ſations. Againſt ſuch a deportation I, for my " own part, now remonſtrate, and ſhall never ceaſe " to proteſt.

" Shut up in a cage of iron, and dragged by an " armed force to Rochefort, I was thruſt between " the decks of a corvette, and fed, like a galley

" convict, with the worſt of proviſions, ſuch as " excited the indignation of the whole crew.

" I did not imagine, that on my arrival at Cay- " enne, my lot would be ſtill further aggra- " vated by prolonging my confinement, and pro- " nouncing a new ſentence of deportation againſt " me. But it appears I am proviſorily deported to " Sinamary, a ſettlement conſiſting only of about " a ſcore of families, who are continually ſtruggling " with miſery in a burning and deſtructive cli- " mate.

" To ſuch a ſpot have you deported ſixteen " citizens of France, fourteen of whom have " neither been accuſed, tried, nor heard in their " defence, and whoſe lives muſt neceſſarily be " ſhortened by the innumerable privations and in- " conveniences to which you ſubject them.

" At my age and in the circumſtances in which " I am placed, no man would be much afraid of " his approaching end, nay, I conſider its arrival as " a deſirable relief. But it is a duty I owe to my- " ſelf and to the dignity of a repreſentative, to " apprize you, for the prevention of all ſuperfluous " expenſe, that I cannot accept any grant of land " that may, in any reſpect whatever, be conſidered " as an indemnity or a compenſation for the loſs of " my liberty. Until my ſituation ſhall depend

" on

" on my own free and voluntary choice, I will re-
" main in the ſtate of captivity in which criminals
" have placed me, expecting from the hands of
" juſtice, and the teſtimony of an irreproachable
" life of ſixty-ſeven years, a change of my unhappy
" lot, which it depends on yourſelf alone (by con-
" ſulting your laws) to alleviate.

" Should I meet my fate in this diſtant ſpot, it
" will be for you for ever to reproach yourſelf with
" having, by unneceſſarily increaſing the weight of
" my misfortunes, ſhortened the life of a man of
" probity, who might ſtill have hoped long to
" contribute to the good and happineſs of his
" country."

This letter obtained no anſwer, and the venerable Murinais expired a fortnight after he wrote it. As ſoon as the news of his death arrived at Cayenne, an ante-dated order was ſent for his removal. Had it been diſpatched on the receipt of his requeſt, Murinais would ſtill have been in a ſituation to have gone to the hoſpital. Thus did this worthy old man, who had devoted fifty years of his life to the ſervice of his country, who had been torn from his family, and from the legiſlative body, untried, unheard, and in violation of the ſacred office he filled, become the firſt victim of the paſſions that dictated the law

of

of the 19th Fructidor. He died with the greateſt firmneſs, and with that tranquillity which naturally attends on virtue. As we crowded round his bed, he frequently repeated the following remarkable ſentence: "*'Tis better to die at Sinamary free from "reproach, than to live in guilt at Paris.*"

Some days after this melancholy ſeparation, Barthélemy, whoſe legs were very much ſwelled, obtained liberty to go to the hoſpital of Cayenne in the place of La Vilheurnois, who had ſcarcely recovered from his illneſs before he was obliged to come to Sinamary.

At Cayenne Barthélemy was tolerably well treated, being attended by the worthy ſiſters of the charity, whoſe humanity never relaxed. From that place he wrote the following letter to one of his friends in France.

Letter from Barthélemy to a Friend in France.

"You are already acquainted with the manner "in which we were conveyed acroſs France in "cages of iron, lying at night ſometimes in priſons "and ſometimes in dungeons. Our ſea voyage "correſponded with our journey by land.

"Crowded together in the between-decks, which "was guarded night and day by two ſoldiers with "drawn ſabres, we were fed like the ſailors with

"ſalt

" ſalt proviſions, gourgannes (beans), and ſome
" biſcuit, that was ſo bad and decayed, that it is
" aſtoniſhing any one ſhould offer it to the ſailors.

" We all bore this dreadful voyage tolerably
" well, though conſtantly treated as criminals;
" the inſtructions containing an order that we
" ſhould not ſpeak with any one of the crew.

" After a voyage of fifty-two days we arrived here,
" and landed at the hoſpital, where, as far as regards
" our food, we have been well treated, but never ceaſed
" to be under a guard of ſoldiers: we were not per-
" mitted to go out, except for an hour, morning
" and evening, into a field adjoining the walls of
" the hoſpital, and we were ſcarcely allowed to re-
" ceive any viſitors.

" We fondly imagined, that on our arrival at the
" place of our deportation our perſons at leaſt would
" be free; but in this we were deceived.

" A fortnight after we were conveyed by ſea to
" Sinamary, a miſerable and unwholeſome diſtrict,
" ſituated twenty-five leagues from Cayenne,
" where there is a dearth of all kinds of proviſions.

" We are lodged there in a building which was
" once the Preſbytery, conſiſting of five ſmall
" rooms, into which we are diſtributed. We are
" ſurrounded by ſerpents, ſnakes, innumerable

" voracious vermin of various ſizes, with which " this country ſwarms; and the tigers are alſo our " very near neighbours.

" A ſpace of ground is allotted for us to walk " in; but ſometimes the extreme heat, ſometimes " the rains, and at all times the innumerable inſects " that fill the air, render our walks extremely trou- " bleſome. Here alſo we are under a guard of " ſoldiers.

" This place is inhabited by above fifty perſons, " who are all ill with fevers. No one, except Bil- " laud-Varennes, who alſo reſides here, enjoys " good health. Beſides the allowance he receives " in common with ourſelves, the government give " him 1800 livres tournois per annum, and the " rent of his cottage; and Victor Hugues ſends " him from Guadaloupe various proviſions to the " value of ſix thouſand livres per annum.

" The allowance we receive from the govern- " ment conſiſts of half a pound of bread and " three quarters of a pound of bad rice per day. " It is impoſſible to procure any butcher's meat.

" I can but feebly pourtray the horror of our " ſituation. Murinais ſank under it at the end of " Brumaire. Every one of us is more or leſs in- " diſpoſed.

" There

" There is a ſurgeon appointed for the military " eſtabliſhment; but you will eaſily conceive an " idea of the medical knowledge of a ſurgeon ſta- " tioned in ſo wretched a ſpot.

" A ſerious illneſs has procured me permiſſion " to come to this hoſpital, which is ſomewhat leſs " damp and leſs unwholeſome than Sinamary, " whither I dread the thoughts of returning.

" We hoped ſome alleviation of our lot might " arrive from France; but we have only learnt " that a great number of deported perſons are " about to be ſent hither, which will render our " ſituation ſtill more cruel. We have now no- " thing to expect, but to periſh by ſlow and pain- " ful degrees in this torrid zone, which renders " Guiana the grave of the Europeans who come " hither, notwithſtanding the deluſive pictures " that have been drawn of the country by French " writers."

Barthélemy had great reaſon to dread being ſent back to Sinamary; for he had no ſooner ſhown ſome ſigns of convaleſcence, than Jeannet ordered an armed force to convey him thither.

At this time, Tronçon-du-Coudray having ſymptoms of a very dangerous illneſs, the ſurgeon of

Sinamary certified that he could not be properly treated there, and that it was indiſpenſably neceſſary to remove him to Cayenne. Tronçon therefore wrote to the Agent, ſoliciting permiſſion to go there.

Letter from Tronçon-du-Coudray to Jeannet, Agent of the French Government at Cayenne.

" It is to yourſelf that I chooſe to apply; for it " is impoſſible that, when you are informed of my " ſituation, you ſhould refuſe me permiſſion to come " to Cayenne. *A refuſal would render my caſe deſpe-* " *rate, and would be my death-warrant.* In this " place none of the articles requiſite for ſo compli- " cated a diſorder as mine are to be had; and the " badneſs and humidity of the air prevent the re- " medies from taking effect. It is not a privilege " I am aſking. Every man ſo ſituated would have " a right to demand his removal to Cayenne. " Nor is it to you, Citizen Agent, that I need ob- " ſerve, that here humanity has her laws. *Power* " *will paſs away, but good actions remain.*"

To this letter the Agent gave no anſwer; but ſent off a phyſician to Sinamary without any means

of

of cure. In addition to his other complaints, Tronçon laboured under a putrid and malignant fever, which attacked him in the beginning of Floréal; and on the ſame day Laffond Ladébat fell ill of a violent bilious fever. They were both lodged in one room, nor could they obtain a ſeparate apartment. Thus were their diſorders continually and reciprocally increaſed by the ſight of each other's ſufferings, and the putrid air they breathed. Tronçon, however, ſeemed for a ſhort time to be convaleſcent; but he had afterwards ſeveral relapſes, and the phyſician ſent from Cayenne certified alſo that he could not be properly treated at Sinamary. Tronçon therefore again wrote to the Agent as follows:

Second Letter from Tronçon-du-Coudray to Jeannet, Agent of the French Government at Cayenne.

" It was not an additional phyſician I needed, " but a purer air, and thoſe means of recovery " which I cannot procure here; ſuch as broth, " bathing, and attendance; in a word, whatever " Sinamary cannot furniſh. This place is ex- " tremely damp and marſhy; there is a want

" of every thing, and that want cannot be ſup-
" plied.

" By ſpeaking a ſingle word, you can put an
" end to all theſe evils. But will that word be
" ſpoken? It lies entirely in your own breaſt;
" and if you conſent I ſhall be extremely grateful.
" Will it be refuſed? That too lies in your own
" breaſt. I ſhall endure it with reſignation, al-
" though I am *convinced I ſhall fall a victim to*
" *your deciſion.* I wait your anſwer with confi-
" dence. May it be dictated by humanity!"

His refuſal was abſolute. The ſentence of death was pronounced. Tronçon-du-Coudray expired on the 4th Meſſidor, with that tranquillity which ever attends an unſullied conſcience. His ſtrong attachment to order, juſtice, and true liberty, the talents he diſplayed, and the projects he formed, proved that he would one day have rendered the moſt important ſervices to his country. But, alas! his country has loſt him! Du Coudray was the ſecond victim ſacrificed in this wild and ſavage country to the revolution of the 18th Fructidor!

Bourdon de l'Oiſe died the ſame day, and almoſt at the ſame hour.

Willot,

Willott, Rovère, and Ramel, were ſucceſſively attacked with various diſorders.

It was at this time that Pichegru, Barthélemy, Le Tellier, Willot, De la Rue, Aubry, Ramel, and Doſſonville, determined to fly from the fate to which both the climate and Jeannet's refuſal ſeemed to condemn thoſe who remained at Sinamary. Accordingly, they entruſted themſelves to a very ſlender bark, in which they were fortunate enough to eſcape.

At Sinamary they were, as it were, in the jaws of death, and nothing but a miracle could ſave them. Marbois and Rovère refuſed to join them in their flight. Laffond-Ladébat had from the firſt declared that he would not fly: for he feared the law of confiſcation might compromiſe both the intereſt of his family and the property of his creditors. To him, therefore, although in a ſtate of convaleſcence, the project was not communicated.

Thus all the deported members of the Council of Elders remained at Sinamary, waiting in hopes that juſtice would one day demonſtrate the purity of their conduct: for they were reſolved not to ſacrifice the peace of their families to a few years of exiſtence. This generoſity, alas! coſt many of them their

their lives. Only two of them ſurvived their companions in misfortune; and theſe alſo will probably ſoon fall a ſacrifice to that murderous climate, unleſs they ſhould be reſcued from the fangs of death, by changing at leaſt the place of their baniſhment.

DESCRIPTION

DESCRIPTION

OF THE

PRISONS OF ROCHEFORT.

BY RICHER-SERISY *.

Germinal, in the Year VI.

——————NO, you have not, like me, beheld that crowd of innocent victims, overwhelmed with mental and bodily ſufferings, linked together two by two, heaped together in carts, and daily dragged from all parts of France to Rochefort, to be thence removed to ſuffer and to die in the impure atmoſphere of Cayenne! Tranſport yourſelf then for a moment to the dungeons that yawn to receive them.

Imagine to yourſelf various damp apartments fifty feet ſquare, each of which contains two hundred of theſe unfortunate beings, whoſe numbers are daily and hourly increaſing. In theſe dungeons are impriſoned perſons of all ages from youth to decrepit old age. Their beds are matreſſes of oakum, two feet broad, ſpread on the ground, without ſheets or covering; and even of theſe the

* Editor of "L'Accuſateur Publique," a paper remarkably bold and obnoxious to the Directory.

number

number not complete in proportion to the number of priſoners, who are obliged to lie three upon a matreſs. Totally deſtitute of tables and chairs, the ground is the only place on which to repoſe their weary limbs, while four enormous tubs, placed at the corners of theſe apartments, fill the air with peſtilential effluvia.

In this horrid ſcene, innocence is forced to linger. To avoid total ſuffocation, theſe unfortunate beings crowd towards the window, to taſte the freſh air through the bars that deprive them of their liberty. Yet even this alleviation is not permitted, for the ſentinels, ſtationed at the airing place, fire on thoſe who raſhly advance their heads too far. Thus did a murderous ball lately kill an infirm and aged prieſt, who had paſſed his ſixtieth year!

When the clock ſtrikes eleven, the gates of the priſon are opened, and the daily allowance of the priſoners brought in wooden pails by drunken, unfeeling wretches; conſiſting of ſea-biſcuit ſoaked in warm and greaſy water, a pound of hard black bread, ſome cow-beef half dreſſed and dragged through the dirt, which is cut into as many ounces as there are priſoners. Such is their allowance for a whole day, which is repeated every four-and-twenty

hours. You ſhudder at my tale! Learn from it the inexhauſtible patience, the unparalleled reſignation, of the priſoners!

I was preſent at the arrival of theſe infected aliments; and ſaw the Prieſts throw themſelves on their knees to bleſs and pray over them. This ſight is renewed every day at the hour when their religion preſcribes this duty. I was a witneſs to the melancholy confuſion of ſobs and prayers which every morning and evening, and during the ſilence of the night, re-echo through theſe miſerable vaults: the ſound of bolts and creaking hinges, and the hoarſe rough voice of jailers, which at intervals mingled with theſe noiſes, filled me with horror. At the ſame moment I beheld the beauteous violet and the tender bud of ſpring uniting round the bars in a ſmall garden adjoining to the priſon, and the little birds that came to perch beneath the opening leaf to ſing the ſong of liberty and of pleaſure, in the preſence of men loaded with irons, and overflowing with the tears of wretchedneſs. This picture of life and of death, of ſlavery and of liberty, of happineſs and of deſpair, that beneficent Nature, who alike diſpenſes her boons in the priſons of Rochefort and the groves of the Luxemburg Palace, afforded both

to the heart and the eye the moſt afflictive of contraſts.

If ſome of theſe unfortunate perſons ſink under their uncommon ſufferings, if at the approach of death they implore relief, ſo long a ſpace of time intervenes before that relief can poſſibly reach them, or the order is given, that the poor creatures may die a hundred times, while waiting for that which would have ſaved their lives. The order, however, at length arrives; the phyſician ſeems only to be ſkilled in the art of torturing the ſoul. This hard-hearted brute, whoſe ſevere and meagre countenance reſembles the bars of the priſon he viſits; this monſter, who is inſenſible to pity or to ſhame, and who has transformed his honourable and beneficent profeſſion into the buſineſs of an aſſaſſin, and treats the ſufferings of the priſoners with inſolent and brutal raillery, runs, in two ſhort minutes, through this abode of miſery, in the midſt of groans, of horror and deſpair. Nor is it until the agonies of death are upon them that he will grant the ſick an hoſpital bed. "You "ſeem to ſuffer," ſaid he to one of them: "this "leg of yours is threatened with mortification; "the air of Cayenne will do you good."—"You "vomit blood," ſaid he to another; "your

"caſe

" caſe requires deportation; your fever is very " bad; but have patience, the ſhip is ready, and " you will ſail within two days." If by chance he is humane enough to feel their pulſe, his countenance and convulſive geſtures declare how much pleaſure he would have in breaking their limbs or diſſecting their bodies.

Thus do theſe unfortunate beings, who languiſh for relief and conſolation, expire in the agonies of aggravated horror, with the dreadful idea, that they are about to leave behind them a wretched family and a blaſted memory; that their bodies will be thrown with neglect and contempt into a corner, and deprived of the laſt tribute of tenderneſs and affection; that their wives, their children, and their friends, ignorant of their fate, will continue to pour forth prayers and vows for their deliverance, long after the ſurgeon Vives ſhall have inſulted their aſhes by laughing at their fate.

If a few of theſe unfortunate beings have ſaved ſome wrecks of their property, if they purchaſe, at an exorbitant price, freſh air and more wholeſome food, it is true, they experience a momentary relief from their torments, as long as its price is within their reach; their means are, however, at

length exhauſted, lukewarm charity grows cold, and then, undermined by a long captivity, they will arrive at the place of their baniſhment, naked, and plundered of their laſt reſources.

You will hardly ſuſpect, that the tools of power, thoſe proud republicans, thoſe mortal enemies to tyranny, forgetting that they are the paſſive and criminal inſtruments of arbitrary violence, that the victims they are employed to torture are innocent, that ſhame and puniſhment would be the reward of their murderous complaiſance, if the conſtitution reſumed its vigour, can experience either pleaſure or profit from rendering this infernal ſyſtem ſtill more cruel and oppreſſive; that through fear of loſing a place which has ſo many competitors, or, like faithful dogs fawning for an expected bone, they ſhould pay their court by inflicting miſeries on the juſt, or find a pleaſure in being ferocious, while their maſters only require of them to be their ſubmiſſive ſlaves!

'Tis in this den of miſery, whence hope itſelf is baniſhed, that every one who is deported, that is, every one who has the misfortune to have diſpleaſed the government or ſome municipal agent, a ſecretary of a commune, a juſtice of peace, a contractor, a miſtreſs, or a ſervant, is condemned

to

to linger. Here perſons accuſed of emigration, whoſe names have been three or four times eraſed from the liſt, a favour for which they paid exorbitantly, though they never had quitted their country, their town, or even, perhaps, their houſe; here miniſters of the Catholic religion, worthy curates and venerable vicars, who have grown old in unſhaken faith and unſullied ſimplicity, and ſtrangers to every idea of political intrigue; whoſe only errors are thoſe of a ſcrupulous, conſcious, and uncorruptible integrity, are abandoned, without the ſmalleſt hope or reſource, to the moſt afflictive feelings that can torture a heart which crimes have never degraded. Here innocence, ſtruggling amid the convulſions of deſpair, appeals in vain to the laws, cries aloud for a declaration of her crimes;—but, alas! prayers, groans, and deſpair, are all in vain! they are fated to be ſwallowed up in the iſland of Cayenne, there to periſh on a land of exile; for the irrevocable order of deportation is to them a certain warrant of death. If this is not the fact, ſay, tyrants, would ye have deported them?

Ye to whoſe hearts ſenſibility is dear! ye who read theſe pages with a ſigh of ſympathetic horror! will believe, perhaps, that even while I am painting facts in feeble colours, my affrighted imagina-

imagination, grown wild with the contemplation of cruelty and misfortune, is ſtill exaggerating beyond the truth; but liſten to the facts I ſhall relate.

I was preſent when two old men were brought in, the younger of whom, who had an ulcer in his leg, was ſeventy-ſix years old; the elder, who was blind and deaf, was in his eighty-third year: they were deported as diſturbers of the public peace. Soldiers of the Gendarmerie, or rather a cruel banditti *, a diſgrace to the dreſs they wear, and who traffic in deportation, becauſe theſe two old men were unable to give them a louis-d'or which they demanded, bound their enfeebled and fleſhleſs arms, while they ſhed an unwilling and a lingering tear from their aged eyes, and let it fall upon their fetters.

I have beheld a woman ſeventy-five years of age (Madame de Marſac) dragged from Bourdeaux to Rochefort in a heavy and chilling rain, where ſhe arrived deſtitute of clothes, of linen, of bread, of friends, and of every means of ſubſiſtence; for the revolution had devoured them all. Unfortunate

* This accuſation does not attach to the Gendarmerie in general; for although that body contains ſome atrocious villains, it alſo abounds with brave ſoldiers, whoſe hearts recoil at the office they are condemned to diſcharge, and who combine probity and humanity with the rigours of their employment.

woman!

woman! ſhe had, alas! ſurvived her family, and ſtood alone in the world; her dog only remained; he lay upon her knees, and ſhe preſſed him in her arms: this poor little animal, this faithful friend of her misfortunes, returned her careſſes, and ſeemed to participate in her miſery: what barbarian would have deſired to ſeparate them? the ſavages deſtroyed him!

I have beheld a whole family of peaſants in the moſt dreadful ſtate of privation; a father, his two ſons, and two daughters, who had fled from the murderous knife of Le Bon: they were deported as dangerous perſons!

I have beheld women, who were models of conjugal affection, holding their infant children to their breaſts, which grief and miſery had dried up, and living on charity, traverſe France to follow their huſbands into baniſhment!

I have beheld, in the ſeverity of winter, in the month of January, Gibert Deſmoliéres, a Repreſentative of the People, and conſiderably advanced in years, dragged from Paris to Rochefort in a cart. This worthy man ſuffered his misfortunes with perfect tranquillity, weeping only for thoſe of his mother; a mother in extreme old age, of whom he was the only ſupport; a mother whom he moſt

tenderly loved, a mother from whom he had never been ſeparated, and who will die far from her baniſhed ſon, deprived of his ſupport, and of the laſt offices of filial affection!

Perlet, Jardin, and Langlois *, accompanied him. Langlois, who was an intereſting young man, alike diſtinguiſhed for his talents, his virtues, and his bravery, had an opportunity of eſcaping during the journey. Several kind and zealous friends were ready to reſcue him at Rambouillet; but he offered, however, this privilege to Gibert; "And "what," replied that Deputy, "will then become "of my mother? 'Tis true I may eſcape, but the "wreck of my property will be ſeized, and ſhe "will die in wretchedneſs." In this ſtruggle of generoſity, Langlois, who was languiſhing under a diſorder of the ſtomach, and vomited blood profuſely, refuſed the relief offered by friendſhip, and would have ſhared the fate of Gibert. I took him away, however, and thus reſcued him from his murderers and from death.

Laſtly, for I can hold no longer this mournful pallet, whoſe colours are inexhauſtible, I have beheld——but my tortured heart almoſt refuſes to

* He was editor of a newſpaper, inimical to the Directory.

purſue

purſue the narration. It was ſeven in the evening: the priſon-gate opened, and I beheld a man who lay acroſs a horſe bound hand and foot, while the ſoldier who accompanied him, told the horror-ſtruck ſpectators that his priſoner was a drunken fellow, who could not ſit his horſe. At length he was taken off, and carried into the priſon. I followed him, and touched his pale cold forehead; I endeavoured to recall his ſenſes by means of ſalts—but, alas! he was dead*! And 'tis at the cloſe of the eighteenth century, this century diſtinguiſhed for its humanity and civilization, that I have ſeen a lifeleſs corpſe entered on the books of a jailor!!!

Even at the time when I am thus pouring forth the horrors of an afflicted heart, I am informed that a veſſel had received into her hold a part of theſe unfortunate beings, to the number of two hundred, where, crowded and preſſed againſt each other in this gulf of infection, the greater part of them, ſinking under peſtilential diſorders, will, doubtleſs, never arrive at their deſtined place of baniſhment.

* This unfortunate being was in the priſon of Muron, or Muren, a commune five leagues diſtant from Rochefort. The juſtice of peace, who delivered a dying perſon to the gendarmes to convey to Rochefort, will ſurely, if there are laws in France, be one day puniſhed for this atrocious crime.

I am informed that, at the time of their getting out to ſea, they were attacked by the Engliſh, who are maſters of our coaſt; and the ſhip being diſmaſted in the conteſt, the water entering on every ſide, ſhe was obliged to take refuge in the port, where ſhe retained her dying priſoners in her damaged and leaky hold; and that another veſſel, after their paſſing a month in this dreadful cavern, had juſt received them on board, to depart a ſecond time, and convey them to the land of deportation. Thus caſt off by France, again repulſed by the Engliſh, and forced back upon our coaſt, driven to and fro like the waves of the dreadful element that bears them, imagine the deſpair of theſe unhappy beings, panting again to preſs the beloved ſhores of their country, though but again to be driven into baniſhment.

To you, dear and ſacred victims of the ferocious Robeſpierre, if, on the other ſide the grave, your virtuous ſouls ſtill thrill with compaſſion for our miſeries, to you I appeal, and demand whether ye regret the ſacrifice of life, or that ſhort and ſudden pang which inſtantly put a period to your torments, torments leſs dreadful than thoſe inflicted on the ſoul, than the tedious and lingering convulſions of deſpair, or that perpetual agony of horror which

which renders the anguiſh of death, as it were, eternal, while it denies the undiſturbed repoſe of the grave. Yet a little while, and even Robeſpierre will ſeem to have had a ſcrupulouſly kind and feeling heart; for thoſe who, after nine years of revolution and of experience, ſtill inflict ſuch horrors, and exerciſe ſuch tyranny, are at once more criminal, and their crimes leſs ſuſceptible of extenuation.

Calviniſts, Lutherans, Theophilanthropiſts, worſhippers of Mithra, or of Moſes! whatever be your religious opinions, or your diverſified ſyſtems of worſhip, they all enjoin the practice of humanity, mercy, the love of your neighbour, and even the love of your enemies. 'Tis on this grand, this univerſal baſis, that all the religions of the earth are built. And you, my fellow-citizens of France! ſay, is there one of you who may not view the arbitrary deportation of theſe unfortunate men as threatening himſelf with the ſame fate to-morrow?

Hodie mihi, cras tibi.

Surely there exiſts not an inhabitant of France but would ſhudder at being thus inſtantly torn by the caprice of a wanton calumniator from his wife, his children, his country, and his fortunes, and

robbed of every thing that is dear to him. O yield, then, to the dictates of your common intereſts, and forget your hatreds and mutual animoſities; for to defend the cauſe of theſe victims of miſery, is but to plead in behalf of the nation at large. Generals, Legiſlators, Judges, Directors, men of every party, and of every rank and condition, O liſten to my voice. Your ſafety and ſelf-preſervation is inſeparable from theirs: your acquieſcence in their fate would render you reſponſible for theſe atrocious meaſures to every future age. Yes; it would bring upon your own heads the horror with which theſe arbitrary acts will fill the ſouls of your children, and which your cowardice and weakneſs will encourage.

(Signed) RICHER-SERISY.

NAR-

NARRATIVE OF EVENTS

THAT TOOK PLACE AT GUIANA SUBSEQUENT TO THE ESCAPE OF THE EIGHT EXILES,

UP TO THE 29 VENTOSE IN THE YEAR VII.

THE commandant of Sinamary loaded the priſoners who remained in his power with new inſults and additional ſeverity; he alſo rendered their confinement more rigorous, and ſeemed, as it were, determined to puniſh them for not having taken to flight. It was long before they had any news of their friends. A month after their eſcape ſome ſoldiers reported that the canoe in which they had embarked, had been fallen in with at ſea by a privateer belonging to the colony, which had ſunk it; and they added, that none of the fugitives eſcaped. Thus the unfortunate priſoners poured forth in aggravated captivity the tears of friendſhip and of grief over the fate of their hapleſs companions. The object of this falſe report, which was ſpread over the whole colony, was to deter the remaining priſoners from all ideas of attempting a ſimilar eſcape, and to add to the ſufferings they endured.

About this time Jeannet received inſtructions

from the Directory, somewhat more humane and moderate than the preceding, which were written by the ferocious Reubell; and the orders given to increase the rigour of the confinement of the remaining prisoners were now revoked.

On the 19th Prairial, the frigate La Decade arrived in Cayenne-road with 193 other deported persons; among whom were two members of the Council of Five Hundred, namely Gibert-Desmoliéres and Job-Aimé, some Emigrants, a great number of Priests, some refractory, others recanting, and some who had taken the oaths; and lastly, some persons who had been condemned to imprisonment for violations of the criminal code. The situation of these exiles at the time of their arrival was dreadful. None of them indeed had died during the passage; but they had all suffered cruelly, and the greater number were in the most perfect indigence, and almost naked; while biscuit, devoured by vermin, gourganne beans, and bad water, were the only nourishment of the aged and the infirm, who were sinking under their oppressions.

Upon their arrival, the inhabitants of Guiana again gave the most striking proofs of their kindness and hospitality. Many of these strangers were received at various plantations which were generously

rouſly offered them as an aſylum; and a negro woman who poſſeſſed a ſmall plantation in the diſtrict of Sinamary, and who has ſeven young children in her houſe, eagerly offered to receive one of the prieſts.

The inſtructions the Agent had received, in conſequence of the remonſtrances preſented by the families of the perſons firſt deported, enjoined him to permit them to ſettle in whatever part of Guiana they might chooſe, except the iſland of Cayenne. In compliance with theſe inſtructions the Agent publiſhed an order dated the 30th Prairial. (See Appendix, No. II.)

This order laid ſeveral reſtrictions on the liberty of the deported, and reſerved to the Agent an arbitrary power over the eſtabliſhments they might make.

Another order, dated 10 Prairial, granted them a continuation of their allowances till the 22d Brumaire. (See Appendix, No. III.)

On the 10th Thermidor, La Vilheurnois, who left France in the moſt vigorous ſtate of health, terminated his career of life. He had been tried by a military commiſſion nominated by the Directory, and condemned to a year of impriſonment. Yet without further trial or change of ſentence, and merely

merely to make the public believe he had been connected with the members of the Legiſlative Body included in the law of the 19th Fructidor, he was deported as well as Brothier, who, like himſelf, was accuſed of being an agent of the brother of Louis XVI. Duverne de Preſle, or Dunan, who was included in the ſame accuſation, had alone been excepted, in conſequence of the declarations upon which the pretended conſpirators of the 18th Fructidor, were denounced to the Legiſlative Body; though not till that body had been moſt groſsly outraged. La Vilheurnois, throughout his misfortunes, maintained a firm and invariable fortitude. At the hoſpital of Cayenne he was compelled to lie in the very bed where the deteſted Collot d'Herbois had died. He was much diſſatisfied with Brothier, and had frequently ſo expreſſed himſelf to him, but was deſirous to be reconciled, before he died; and having received from the Abbé's hands the laſt ſpiritual comforts, he expired in his arms, pouring forth vows for the re-eſtabliſhment of the Monarchy.

As ſoon as a few *carbets*, or huts formed of hurdles and turf, and covered with thatch or leaves of trees, were conſtructed; eighty of the deported were conducted to Conanama; that is, all thoſe who had not yet procured ſettlements. This place having

having no ſurgeon, the ſurgeon of Iracombo, which is three long leagues diſtant, received orders to go thither four times per month.

Several of theſe unfortunate perſons were robbed on the road, and moſt of them had no other bed than the ground, when they arrived at their carbets; the ſoil being very damp, and chiefly conſiſting of a muddy moraſs. "I have ſeen Indians," ſaid one of them in a letter to a friend; "yes, I have "ſeen men whom we call ſavages, ſhudder at theſe "dreadful ſcenes, which they aſſured me inſpired "them with horror. I have ſeen the Captain of "the Indians of Iracombo, who worked together "with his men in preparing theſe *carbets*, ſhed tears "over our misfortunes, and expreſs the ſtrongeſt "indignation againſt the authors of our miſeries*."

The quiet and peaceful ſettlers were obliged to crowd together to the number of twenty or twenty-five in one carbet, to avoid being confounded with miſcreants who threatened them with deſtruction, and were watching to plunder them of their laſt remaining clothes. This kind of diſorder ſoon broke out, and three or four of theſe miſ-

* "Theſe Indians and thoſe of Sinamary were compelled to "work at the *carbets*, after which they were referred to Cayenne "for payment."

creants were accuſed, one of a robbery committed in a neighbouring plantation, and the reſt of a conſpiracy to ſet fire to the carbets. Of four of them who were conducted to Sinamary, one was acquitted and ſent back to Conanama, and the reſt conveyed to Cayenne to take their trials. He that was accuſed of robbery was impriſoned at Conanama; and although his guilt was not proved by any witneſs whatever, the engineer who commands the military force, and who was the perſon that had, in the month of Primaire, formed the plan of this eſtabliſhment, and ſuperintended the execution of it, threatened the priſoner that he ſhould be ſhot at ſix o'clock in the afternoon, unleſs he confeſſed his crime in the courſe of the day. The poor wretch, however, broke out of priſon, and after wandering two or three days in the woods, was met with and arreſted, almoſt in a dying ſtate, in the neighbourhood of Sinamary. He was ſent to the hoſpital, where he died two or three days after.

He that was acquitted before the juſtice of peace at Sinamary, and ſent back to Conanama, was conveyed to Cayenne as a *ſuſpicious perſon*, by order of the Engineer Prévoſt. Thus it is that juſtice is adminiſtered in the name of the republic!

Rovère

Rovère was beginning to recover from a long and ſevere illneſs, when he received intelligence of the noble and generous ſtep of his affectionate wife, who informed him ſhe was about to embark on board the Medea, with her two infant children, to ſhare his fate, and, if poſſible, to alleviate his misfortunes. The firſt effect of this news, and the fears and anxieties to which it gave birth, cauſed a new relapſe. His mind and body, however, ſeemed both re-animated, and he applied himſelf to forming and executing a plan of ſettling himſelf, together with his family, in a plantation of which he had an offer, in the neighbourhood of Cayenne. To accompliſh this, however, it was neceſſary to conform to the regulations of the 30th Prairial; and ſome informalities in his demand retarded the conſignments he expected, at which he was ſo greatly alarmed, that his fever returned, accompanied with the moſt dangerous ſymptoms.

At length, however, he received the requiſite documents, and, notwithſtanding his extreme debility, and the oppoſition of the ſurgeon, and notwithſtanding death ſeemed already to hang over him, he embarked on the 15th Fructidor for Cayenne, though it was neceſſary to carry him in

a hammock from his bed to the ſchooner that was to convey him thither.

He had ſcarcely got out to ſea before he had a moſt violent attack of fever in the night, and became quite delirious. This circumſtance, added to the roughneſs of the ſea, obliged the captain to return to Sinamary, where he landed on the 17th. Rovère was diſembarked in a dying ſtate, ſcarcely able to move a limb, and was even hoiſted up and carried on ſhore in a hammock: he could not, however, be brought back to the houſe he before inhabited, as he had very great cauſe of complaint againſt the unfeeling ingratitude he had there experienced. One of the inhabitants, therefore, whoſe heart was more generous and ſympathetic than that of his former hoſt, although burdened with a large family and a ſick houſe, offered to receive him. To his houſe he was carried almoſt in the agonies of death. The ſurgeon paid him every attention; but all his cares were in vain; and after ſuffering a conſiderable time, he died at three in the morning on the 25th Fructidor.

It is impoſſible to pourtray the long and complicated ſufferings he endured. The apprehenſion of his wife and children arriving in the midſt of theſe ſcenes of ſickneſs and of death continually

haraſſed

haraſſed his mind, and he died calling upon their names, and imagining he was claſping them in his arms.

And here let me pay a tribute of reſpect and admiration to the kind-hearted and hoſpitable inhabitant who received him beneath his roof. This worthy man is one of the ſmall number of Germans who ſurvived the dreadful mortality that befel the planters, whoſe ſettlement was intruſted to the Chevalier Turgols at Chanvallon. After thirty-four years of labour, he had acquired a certain degree of affluence, when the new ſyſtem adopted for the regulation of the colonies ruined his fortune and deſtroyed all his hopes. The illneſs of his wife and children increaſed ſtill further his calamities; yet notwithſtanding theſe afflictions, every one of the deported who was ſituated in his diſtrict experienced his beneficence and humanity. The name of this worthy man, who is keeper of the ſtores at Sinamary, is Morgenſtern.

Eight of the newly deported perſons took up their abode in a ſmall room which they hired at Sinamary. On the 15th Fructidor ſix of them were in the hoſpital, and the other two ill of fevers; and on the 20th two of thoſe who were at the hoſpital died; one of theſe was D'Havelange, a reſpectable

ſpectable old man, who had formerly been a Rector at the univerſity of Louvain.

On the 9th Fructidor, the Agent, totally diſregarding his former orders, by which he had promiſed the perſons firſt deported their lodging and allowance of food till the 22d of Brumaire, wrote to the Commiſſary that theſe indulgences ſhould ceaſe on the 1ſt of Vendémiaire, at the ſame time ordering him to ſend to Conanama on the 25th Fructidor, thoſe of the ſixteen deported perſons, who were unable to ſettle themſelves agreeably to the regulations of his order of the 30th Prairial.

Thus was the permiſſion to ſettle, which had been ſo frequently conteſted and reſtrained, and which the Miniſter of Marine had at length granted, ſuddenly changed into a poſitive command to ſettle and to become a planter without the means of cultivation; or to commence merchant without being allowed to go to the only port which commerce could frequent. It was neceſſary, however, to chooſe one of theſe alternatives, or be cruelly conducted by a military force to the carbets of Conanama.

This diſtrict is ſituated between Sinamary and Iracombo, in a ſavanna that is ſurrounded by extenſive moraſſes, which render this ſpot ſtill more

more unwholeſome than Sinamary; and thoſe who had languiſhed during ſo long a period in theſe horrid deſerts, and had beheld their friends periſh through the effects of the peſtilential air of Sinamary, had no ſooner become ſeaſoned to that dreadful climate, than they were again obliged to change their ſituation: the Agent having inhumanly ordered them to be removed to this new grave of the human race at Conanama.

However incapable they might be to devote themſelves to agriculture and commerce, whatever other arrangements they might have made, yet even were they ſick, were they in the agonies of death, ſtill they muſt conform to the equally ſingular and arbitrary regulations of that order. (See Appendix, No. IV.) It arrived at Sinamary at a time when Brothier was juſt recovering from a ſevere fever; hence it had a cruel effect upon his health; for, having paſſed almoſt all his life in the ſtudy of mathematics and of literature, nothing could be more foreign to his habits than agricultural or commercial purſuits. On the 15th Fructidor he had been ſo active in aſſiſting Rovère to embark, and expoſed himſelf ſo much to the burning heat of the ſun, as to cauſe a further relapſe of his diſorder; he had hired a ſmall lodging, and

had addreſſed to the departmental adminiſtration a demand of a ſettlement. Some informalities, however, cauſed it to be returned; and as this anſwer did not reach him till the 20th Fructidor, at a time when he was in a ſtate of extreme debility, it cauſed ſo great a depreſſion of his ſpirits, that he conceived it was intended he ſhould die at Conanama: thus his fever increaſing, aſſumed the moſt alarming appearance, and he died at ten in the morning of the 26th Fructidor.

The death of Brothier will deprive the world of various works which he intended to have publiſhed from the manuſcripts of his uncle, and among others, an edition of Pliny, the notes on which alone would have been highly important to thoſe who are deſirous of comparing the knowledge of the ancients, relative to natural hiſtory, with that of the moderns.

We have learnt, that, up to the preſent time, of the newly deported perſons,

2 have died at Aprouayac,
9 at Cayenne and the reſt of the colony,
14 at Conanama,
3 at Sinamary.

29 in the ſpace of twenty-five days.

60

60 are ſick at Conanama,

5 at Sinamary, and

20 at the leaſt in various other parts of Guiana.

The daily allowance of all thoſe whom the humanity of the inhabitants has received into their houſes has been ſuppreſſed; nor are theſe individuals permitted to receive any aſſiſtance from the hoſpital.

The ſurgeon of the diſtrict of Sinamary performs his duty, although ill himſelf, with a zeal and activity that deſerve the gratitude of all the exiles; but the moſt eſſential medicines are refuſed to be ſent him from Cayenne, and he is often reduced to the painful neceſſity of ſeeing his patients die, through not having it in his power to adminiſter the medicines their caſes require.

The Agent has written to the Directory, giving a brilliant picture of the condition of moſt of the deported perſons who have ſettled in the colony, and who are forced to make fictitious arrangements both in agriculture and in commerce; for what ſpecies of commerce or of cultivation of the earth can men, without the means of either, and in a ſick or dying ſtate, purſue?

Billaud-Varennes, however, has conſtantly received all the aſſiſtance he ſtood in need of. He

has lately left Sinamary to ſettle in the diſtrict of Makouria; and it is reported in the colony, that he receives ſupplies from Victor Hugues; while infirm and wretched prieſts, bending under the weight of years, and victims to religious perſecution, are rejected by the hoſpital of the colony, and left to die without relief in a burning and infectious climate. One of theſe, a man ſixty years of age, afflicted with a hernia, was brought to Rochefort in great pain. His age and illneſs ought to have exempted him from deportation, and he demanded the enforcing of the law. But he was anſwered with ſavage deriſion: "You may de-"mand it from the Commandant of Cayenne, "when you ſhall arrive there." There at length he arrived, but in ſuch a ſtate as it was impoſſible to behold without tears; yet thence he was removed without pity to Conanama, where he was on the point of expiring, when the ſurgeon of Iracombo, whoſe heart was affected by his misfortunes, offered him an aſylum, and reſcued him from the jaws of death.

The general reſult of the foregoing narrative is as follows:

Firſt, That of the ſixteen perſons deported on board the corvette La Vaillante, eight remained at Sinamary;

Sinamary; and of these eight, six died in the space of ten months and four days; namely,

Murinais on the 27th Frimaire, in the year VI.

Tronçon-du-Coudray on the 4th Messidor.

La Villeurnois on the 10th Thermidor.

Bourdon de l'Oise the same day.

Rovère on the 25th Fructidor.

Brothier on the 26th Fructidor.

And that only two of these eight are still alive; namely, Marbois and Laffond-Ladébat; and even the former of these was attacked with a fever eighteen days ago.

Thus the mortality of these deported persons for the whole year is in the proportion of seven and two tenths to eight, or seventy-two to eighty; that is, according to this proportion, the whole number should be extinct in fourteen months.

It must be further observed, that eight of the deported persons rescued themselves from death about five months ago; and that it is at least probable some of these also would have died, had they remained at Sinamary.

2dly. That of the five deported members of the Council of Elders, three are now no more. These men were condemned, without criminality, accu-

ſation, or trial; they have left their country a heinous crime to atone for!

3dly. That only one member of the Council of Five Hundred remained at Sinamary; and he alſo has fallen. It is for his friends to explain their motives for ſacrificing him.

4thly. That of two agents of royaliſm, already tried and condemned to impriſonment in France, and who were deported without any further trial, and in contempt of their actual ſentence, neither is now alive.

5thly. That of the hundred and ninety-three perſons deported on board the frigate La Decade, twenty-nine died in leſs than a month, and at leaſt eighty-five are dangerouſly ill, and deprived of every ſpecies of relief.

In what nation of uncivilized ſavages or ferocious barbarians have men an idea of arbitrarily condemning, without trial or accuſation, members of the political aſſociation to ſuch a ſpecies of puniſhment and of torture? Yet of theſe victims of injuſtice the ſurvivors are doubtleſs the moſt miſerable. They have almoſt daily witneſſed the dying groans of their companions in misfortune, and are haunted with the phantom of a

painful

painful and languiſhing death on the ſavage coaſt of a diſtant country, far from their native homes, from their families, and from their friends.

On this horrid picture we ſhall make no reflections. It is to the juſtice and humanity of the French nation that it is ſubmitted.

Dated Guiana, the 9th Vendémiaire, in the year VII.

EXTRACT

EXTRACT OF A LETTER

FROM

M. F*** OF CAYENNE, TO HIS COUSIN MADAME DE N***.

Cayenne, the 24th Ventoſe,
in the Year VII.

—— YOU aſk me, my dear Couſin, for news of the deported, and eſpecially of the friend in whoſe favour you have ſo warmly written to me. His eſcape, and that of moſt of his companions in misfortune, muſt already be known to you ſeveral months ago. I was happy enough to be of ſome ſervice to him during his ſtay at Sinamary; and it was perhaps through my advice that he ſo ſpeedily reſolved on flying from this ſcene of horror and of death.

In quitting this colony, the exiles were expoſed to the greateſt dangers. Providence, however, watched over them; and in a mere fiſhing-boat, with almoſt miraculous good fortune, they arrived, after experiencing the ſevereſt ſufferings, in the territories of the neighbouring Dutch colony.

Moſt of thoſe who remained behind have long ceaſed to exiſt. Their only ſurvivors are, Barbé-Marbois and Laffond-Ladébat, who perhaps are only reſerved for ſtill more cruel hardſhips.

Jeannet is no longer Commiſſary of the Government at Cayenne; and the tyranny of his ſucceſſor is ſo great, that we are almoſt compelled to regret his removal. We are continually told that it cannot continue long; but in the mean while we linger, as it were, in a tedious ſtate of depreſſion and ſickneſs, in which the evils the patient endures while waiting for the remedy are dreadful. Ah, my dear Couſin! you complain of your ſufferings in France: "You ſigh," you ſay, "for the time when "you will return to the colony!" while I would give the world never to have left the continent of Europe. The picture we are every day compelled to contemplate is too horrid for us to ſuppoſe you can be more wretched. You know, it is true, that unfortunate perſons exiſt, but you are not eye-witneſſes of their ſufferings; and it is evident, the evils endured by others affect us leſs in proportion to the diſtance of the ſcene. Yes, my dear Couſin, I cannot but cheriſh a belief that men would be leſs depraved were the mirror of truth conſtantly held up before their eyes, to ſhow them all the hideous deformity

deformity of vice; and the cruelleſt enemy of the deported would put a period to his vengeance, were he compelled to be the eye-witneſs of their miſery: for the mere beholding his victims would fill his ſoul with remorſe and horror.

A great number of other deported perſons have arrived ſince my laſt at Guiana, chiefly conſiſting of eccleſiaſtics; among whom are two new deputies, Aimé and Gibert-Deſmolières. But the inhabitants of Cayenne, who, though poor, are humane and hoſpitable, have the mortification to be unable to afford relief to all theſe poor unfortunate people, moſt of whom, totally deſtitute of all things, and ſinking beneath ſickneſs and infirmity, are waiting, as it were, for the ſtroke of death, which ſeems ready to fall upon their heads.

In vain have the planters ſolicited permiſſion for them to ſettle in the plantations in the neighbourhood of the town; in vain did I offer to be ſecurity for two venerable old men, who, as I foreſaw, could not ſurvive their removal to Conanama, and whoſe bodies are now laid in the tomb. Neither our repreſentations nor our prayers could prevail with the cruel-hearted man who governs us; and thus their deſtruction was inevitable. All of them are placed in the moſt unwholeſome parts of Guiana.

Guiana. At Sinamary, though a horrid place, life may ſtill continue to linger for a time: deſtruction was there too tardy in devouring her prey; and therefore it was reſolved to bury them, as it were, alive at Kourou, Conanama, and other remote diſtricts. And to theſe wild and nearly deſert ſpots they are confined, where their only proſpect is miſerably to die in wretchedneſs and want. Every inhabitant of the colony ſhudders at theſe horrors; but, alas! we ſhall not long have to bewail the actual ſufferings of theſe unfortunate beings, who are ſo cruelly ſacrificed! for the earth ſeems each day to yawn beneath their feet, and the extinction of their laſt ſurvivor will ſoon alleviate our ſympathetic afflictions.

Job-Aimé and Gibert-Deſmolières have, however, obtained permiſſion to ſettle near the town. But will the tyrant always be equally well diſpoſed toward them? His conduct to Laffond-Ladébat and Marbois proves, that no reliance can be placed on this capricious and cruel proconſul; for, fearing they might be carried off by the Engliſh from the coaſt of Sinamary, he thought fit, on the 25th Niveſe laſt, to have them brought over burning ſands to Cayenne; where, though they arrived in a very

bad ſtate of health, they were, in conformity to his orders, lodged in a cockloft at the hoſpital. Being however perſuaded the Agent was diſpoſed to grant them another plantation, they eagerly indulged that expectation, and wrote him a letter, which I ſhall firſt copy, and then relate the conſequences that enſued.

Laffond-Ladébat and Barbé-Marbois to the Special Agent from the Executive Directory in French Guiana.

" Hoſpital at Cayenne, the 14th Ventôſe, in the Year VII.

" Citizen Agent,

" If it is your intention to put an end to our " preſent impriſonment, which has continued from " the 25th Nivôſe, we requeſt your permiſſion " to ſettle in the plantation called L'Armorique. " We have ſeen all our companions in misfortune " ſucceſſively periſh, and it is our wiſh that we " may not be ſeparated. The illneſſes we have " experienced, and the debilitated ſtate of Mar- " bois, which has been increaſed by our unforeſeen " voyage from Sinamary to Cayenne, and the fear

" of

" of relapſes, which are peculiarly dangerous in " this climate, render it neceſſary that we ſhould be " near Cayenne, in order to be within reach of the " medical and other aſſiſtance it affords. Citizen " P*** will be our ſecurity, ſhould a regard to " our own characters and intereſts appear to you " inſufficient pledges. We alſo requeſt, Citizen " Agent, that this commiſſion commence only " from the 1ſt Germinal next, a delay which is " indiſpenſably neceſſary for the removal of our " effects from Sinamary. *We have the honour to* " *ſalute you* *.

(Signed) " LAFFOND-LADEBAT,
" BARBE-MARBOIS."

When the Agent peruſed this petition, he immediately flew into a violent paſſion. The omiſſion of the words " Health and reſpect " (Salut et reſpect) at the concluſion of the letter, was an outrage which it would have been a violation of his character to leave unpuniſhed; he even carried

* *Nous avons l'honneur de vous ſaluer*, was formerly a common mode of concluding a reſpectful letter; but as it is the language of gentlemen, and has the air of the *ancien regime*, it ſeems to have highly diſpleaſed this ferocious proconſul. T.

his ferocity so far as to avow this debasing motive as the ground of his conduct; and although the weather was dreadfully bad, and Marbois was still very ill, he and Ladébat were instantly embarked for Sinamary. I have heard from them thrice since their departure, and learnt that they are in a state of greater suffering and torment than ever. On their return to Sinamary they found the following *arrêté* or order under execution, and new vexations daily increase the weight of their misfortunes.

" *Arrêté of the Commandant of Sinamary.*

" By order of the Commandant of this station, all the deported persons, without exception, are " to assemble in the square every Decadi and Quin- " tidi, at ten in the morning, there to pass muster " before the Military Commandant of the post.

" They shall be ranged in two rows, and in due " order.

" For the future all the deported shall be respon- " sible for the escape of any one of their number.

" The deported are expressly prohibited from " quitting the station without a written permission " signed by the Commandant.

" The guard at the point of the passage of the " Savannas, are ordered to arrest every deported

" perſon who ſhall attempt to paſs without ſhow-
" ing the aforeſaid permiſſion †.

" At Sinamary, the 28th Pluviôſe, in the
" year VII.

(Signed) " FREYTAG,
" Commandant of the Poſt."

At Conanama, at Kourou, and in all the diſtricts where any of the deported are placed, the ſame tyranny is exerciſed; two or three of them have, however, made their eſcape, or rather, perhaps, have fled into the foreſts in order to ſeek a more rapid and leſs cruel death.

M. Da ***, an Orléanais prieſt, but now deported to Conanama, has ſent me a letter ‡ written by him to his aged father, and which I tranſmit you herewith. What virtues, what greatneſs of ſoul he poſſeſſes! Ah! my dear and amiable couſin, let his letter be made public; it will melt even the hearts to which ſenſibility is almoſt a ſtranger; it will diſarm vengeance itſelf.

Since the flight of Pichegru and his friends, I have received three boxes for the deported, one of

† This arrêté has a ſtriking reſemblance to the new law relative to hoſtages. *Fr. Ed.*

‡ See page 136.

which

which contains proviſions and clothes, another is filled with ſhoes, and the third with ſeeds. I ſhall deliver theſe effects to thoſe who remain here, together with ſeveral letters I have alſo received for them. Tell M*** that the letter wherein he openly adviſes them to fly, was faithfully delivered to me by M. R***, who has rendered his friend conſiderable ſervices. Should this letter reach you, have the goodneſs to ſend the following note to M. G***, notary at ——, and thus fulfil the intentions of his unfortunate brother, from whom I received it. The following is a copy:

"I am about to die, my dear brother, and I "ſhould be guilty of an offence before God, did I "not forgive my enemies. When you witneſſed "my departure for Guiana, you were deſirous to "know who was my denouncer; and you aſſured "me, in your grief, that you would ſooner or "later revenge this crime. O my brother! "abandon this intention. Forgive him, as I for- "give him, I conjure you, in the name of Jeſus "Chriſt, who is about to receive me in his Divine "mercy. Recommend me to the prayers of all "our relatives, and to thoſe of my pariſhioners.

"Adieu, my dear brother. I pray to God with "my dying breath, to pour down every bleſſing

"and

" and proſperity on you, your wife, and your " five children. I am indebted to Madame L*** " thirty livres, which I requeſt you will repay her. " Adieu, my dearly beloved brother! God will " ſoon take his frail and finful creature unto " himſelf.

(Signed) " P. M. G***,
" Curate of M——."

This worthy and reſpectable prieſt died the 16th of the preſent month, two days after he wrote the foregoing letter.

Adieu, my dear couſin. I will ſeize every poſſible opportunity of writing to you, both relative to your own affairs, and to the unfortunate perſons for whom you feel ſo lively an intereſt. Remember me to Meſdames de C**, H**, and W**, not forgetting that worthy woman Bel***. M. P***'s agent is very ill, but all your friends are well. You do not tell me enough of Zoé; I hope at my return to find her anſwer my expectations. Meanwhile embrace her very tenderly for me.

F***.

LET-

LETTER

FROM

PIERRE-MARIE DA ***, CURATE OF ST. L——,

TO HIS FATHER

M. DA ***, A LANDHOLDER AT V——.

Conanama, a District of French Guiana, 3d Feb. 1799.

GOD has watched over his sinful creature. Your son is alive. Death has not seized your child, whose fate you deplore. O my father! you that have taught me from my earliest infancy, both by habit, and by the pleasure it gives, to love virtue, and virtue alone, if your eyes, no doubt incessantly overflowing with tears, are still open to the light of heaven, may these few lines, written by a hand you love, be delivered into yours! May they be a momentary consolation to your age; and may that grief which too long has weighed you down, at least respect the approaches to the grave. O my father! there is, there is another life, where the virtuous shall find shelter from iniquity. Even if religion did not reveal this truth, misfortune itself would teach it to mankind.

kind. Yes, my father! in that world, where all vain diſtinctions will be confounded, where the wicked can no longer purſue us, we ſhall meet again; there will your virtues and my misfortunes cauſe me to find favour in the ſight of God; there ſhall we be again united, and live eternally together. O my father! ſhall I ſpeak of my enemies? Ah, no! the miniſter of a God of peace ought not to feel that he has an enemy. Our holy religion teaches us to forgive, and Heaven is my witneſs, that at Conanama my lips have never pronounced the names of my perſecutors, but to draw down upon them the Divine mercy. Ah! if they be but ſo fortunate that repentance may enter their hearts, and ſhould I not be preſent to adminiſter conſolation to them, and to ſay to them, "I have "long ſince forgiven you," let ſome generous hand ſhow them this letter, and thus alleviate their torments! Ah! be their pardon pronounced alſo by you! The guilty have more need of pity than thoſe who become their victims; and the feelings of him who is tortured by remorſe, are ſo horrible, that even his enemy would willingly conſole him.

My father, you are impatient to know the ſpot, that contains your ſon. 'Tis in the abode of death

and of virtue that he offers up to his God a life of ſorrow and of penitence.

You well know, my father, that, being always entirely devoted to my duty, I was ſurrounded by my faithful flock at the time when a tyrannical order arrived to tear me from the functions of my holy office. A man who was clothed in extraordinary power, declared himſelf my enemy, though he did not even know me. The government wrote to their agents narrowly to watch the prieſts; and the Commiſſary M * * * imagined he was ſerving his country by devoting them to death. I was marked out among others as his victim; and while my ſole occupation was to pour the words of conſolation into the boſom of the families around me, and preach to them to forget the errors of mankind, and forgive their injuries, I was treated as a partiſan of faction, an enemy to my country, and was even accuſed of endeavouring to excite a civil war. Yet it was through my exertions that peace ſtill prevailed in the neighbourhood, that the inhabitants were not divided into parties, and that the moral virtues of the goſpel ſprang up in every heart. The Commiſſary, however, accuſed me, and I was arreſted. And as my worthy pariſhioners endeavoured to defend me, in ſpite of my efforts

ſorts to diſſuade them, I was repreſented as ſtill more criminal; and on this account, a few days after, an order came for my deportation.—O my father! dragged from dungeon to dungeon, loaded with irons, and overwhelmed with miſery and anxieties, my fortitude at length deſerted me, and ſhowed me my own weakneſs. Each night, as ſoon as the door of my dark and diſmal priſon was barred and bolted, when I was thus concealed from the view of my jailors, your ſon burſt into tears, and the miniſter of the altar of God forgot the ſufferings of Jeſus Chriſt to weep over his own. Alas! how weak is man, when God for a ſingle moment leaves him to his own ſtrength!

Providence, however, at length always holds out a ſupporting hand to encourage and ſtrengthen the repentant ſinner. I arrived at Rochefort, and even there, in the abode of crimes and wickedneſs, I, as it were, met with my guardian angels. O great God! and could I ſtill repine? Ah, may my mouth never again be opened to murmur at thy ways! O my Creator! may thy goodneſs illuminate my ſoul; may it be the guide of my heart; and may I at length be worthy to inhabit the obſcurity of the tomb, together with the elect, and with my virtuous companions of misfortune. O my father! I have no

right to ſpeak any longer of myſelf. Theſe venerable old men, whoſe fate I am proud to participate, have taught me how to ſuffer; it was at Rochefort that I found them. The dungeon where I was entombed, already contained eight other Miniſters of the Church, in whom all the virtues were exemplified. 'Twas night when I entered that funereal abode, where a ſingle lamp trembled forth its glimmering ſepulchral light. Ah, dreadful ſight! Venerable old men lying upon the ſtones, with a little ſtraw beneath their heads, and yet all enjoying a ſweet interval of ſleep! Ah, how eaſily does innocence repoſe! Soon my eyes involuntarily fixed upon one of theſe unfortunate worthies, whoſe celeſtial countenance, ennobled by the ſilver locks of age, commanded my veneration! It was Don Louis, of the order of St. Bruno. When I beheld him, I was affected with a ſacred awe and reſpect; I approached him, threw myſelf on my knees before him, and made a vow to the Almighty, that I would devote all my cares to alleviate his miſeries. Soon however he awoke, and perceiving me, raiſed his eyes towards heaven, and ſtretching forth his hand to me, "O my ſon," ſaid he, "are you alſo a "child of the Lord? May thy faith be thy ſup-"port under perſecution, and may God ever be thy "comforter!"

" comforter !" His companions now alſo awoke, and uniting with him, collected round me, and forgot their own misfortunes, to think of mine alone. I ſeemed, as it were, the only victim, and the only one that needed their conſolation. " Mi-
" niſters of Jeſus Chriſt," exclaimed I, " O my
" fathers ! O models of fortitude and virtue ! may
" God grant me ſuch ſtrength as you poſſeſs ! and
" ſhould my weakneſs be puniſhed by long afflic-
" tions, may my faith not be ſhaken, and may I,
" by imitating you, deſerve the crown of reward
" which Heaven has in ſtore for you !"

Two days after my arrival we were removed from our priſon, to be dragged on board a ſhip, which was to tranſport us to Guiana. Here I was the companion of a great number of Eccleſiaſtics from all parts of France, among whom were ſeveral conſtitutional and married Prieſts, a great number of men of ſixty years of age, Journaliſts, Emigrants, and two Members of the Legiſlative Body, namely, Job-Aimé and Gibert-Deſmoliéres. Such were the victims of tyranny, who were heaped together on board the frigate La Décade. The aged and worthy prior of St. Claude was ill of a hernia, and could ſcarcely walk. Another of my brethren was languiſhing in a fever, and cannot live many days.

Girard

Girard d'Havelange and the virtuous Don Louis were ſinking beneath the weight of years; and moſt of the others were either ſick or infirm. In vain did the Deputies Gibert and Job-Aimé plead for theſe unfortunate people, for their voices were ſilenced and overpowered. "'Tis at Cayenne "you muſt remonſtrate," was the only anſwer they could obtain. Yes, my father! old men, heaped, as it were, upon each other, lying extended on the ground, tormented with vermin, deſtitute of linen and clothes, and worſe fed than the vileſt criminals—ſuch is the heart-rending picture the deported preſent.

To our floating dungeon no air was admitted but through a ſmall hole; and thus mephitic effluvia were continually propagating contagion, and a cadaverous and deadly ſmell ſpread throughout this burning furnace of deſtruction. Yet the ſlighteſt murmur was not heard; for all the priſoners exhibited that fortitude which innocence alone can inſpire; all had learned to endure his ſufferings in ſilence. The aſtoniſhed crew contemplated their victims with admiration. Several of the ſailors ſecretly wept over our misfortunes, and their kindneſs and humanity induced them generouſly to offer us every alleviation in their

 power.

power. O worthy Benoiſt! amiable Roſier! though we forget the names of thoſe who have loaded us with injuries, we will preſerve for ever the memory of yours impreſſed in the innermoſt folds of our hearts. Yes, honeſt and kind-hearted ſailors! ye may at leaſt enjoy the ſatisfaction of having ſaved the lives of two worthy men. If one of them, alas! (d'Havelange,) has ſince terminated his career, you at leaſt prolonged his exiſtence by your cares.

Neither have we forgotten the generoſity of ſeveral of the officers, whoſe names I would gladly mention, but it would unneceſſarily expoſe them to the hatred of the wicked and vindictive.

At length we landed in Guiana, where the inhabitants would willingly have alleviated our miſfortunes, had they not been prevented by our ſecond deportation. The Commiſſary of the Government executed with extreme rigour the orders he had no doubt received; for who would be ſo cruel or ſo depraved as of his own free motion to become the inſtrument of torture to his fellow-creatures?

The deported were divided into various claſſes; ſome being ſent off to Sinamary and its environs, while others were placed in the horrid deſerts of

Aprouayac

Aprouayac and Conanama. 'Tis from this laſt, from this devouring tomb of man, that your ſon now writes: 'tis here that, ſupported by the example of his brethren, he endeavours, through patient ſuffering, to deſerve that reward which you, my father, have merited by your virtues. Conanama is one of the remoteſt diſtricts in the colony, being ſituated in the midſt of ſurrounding foreſts, and covered with muddy moraſſes, that render the air impure by filling it with fetid exhalations. The plantations are confined to a few mis-ſhapen huts, the abode of miſery and of death. Such is the ſavage country to which we are baniſhed!

Of the eight unfortunate prieſts I found at Rochefort only two are alive. Don Louis died five days ago, and during the five days that have followed his death have the aſhes of that great and juſt man been watered with all our tears. Within an hour of the time when he breathed his laſt, that worthy old man crawled, in ſpite of my diſſuaſions, to the middle of the carbet where he lived, and there, proſtrating himſelf upon the earth in the midſt of his brethren, or rather in the midſt of ſpectres and of ſhades, and after receiving from my hands the laſt ſpiritual conſolations, he ſaid, "My brethren in Chriſt Jeſus, all the evils I have

"endured

" endured are nothing; ſince the Redeemer " himſelf drank vinegar and gall.—Let us die " then, as the Apoſtle ſays, in the hope of en- " tering the holy city of Heaven; let us die in " the hope that our tribulations, which have laſted " but for a moment, will ſoon lead us to eternal " glory; let us die in the hope that Chriſt Jeſus " will one day change our vile and corruptible " body, and make it like his glorious and heavenly " body. Before we die let us pray for our perſe- " cutors, and may our prayers riſe up even to " God himſelf!" Here Don Louis ceaſed, and I recited by his ſide the prayers for the dying. But ſoon his clay-cold hand ſtiffened as I held it, and he expired in my arms.

Each day new misfortunes befel us. One victim is followed by another, and the very man who a day or two hence, perhaps to-morrow, will be overtaken by death, is now digging with pleaſure and ſatisfaction the earth that will ſoon open to receive him. The tomb indeed is the utmoſt boundary of all our ſublunary deſires; and he who is ſtepping into it, weeps but for thoſe who ſurvive him. The cemetery where our friends repoſe is the ſcene to which we are continually directing our ſteps. There we frequently aſſemble, and love

to chooſe our laſt abode, where we hope at length to find repoſe. There each marks out the ſpace he wiſhes to occupy near the grave of his deceaſed friend, and, reclining upon his tomb, regrets that he muſt ſtill for a while be ſeparated from him. That grave which he dug with his own hands, and which is waiting for his mortal part, now becomes his hope, and five or ſix days of expected life ſeem too long a delay to his impatient ſoul.

Yeſterday a Prieſt from Brabant, who had not appeared at muſter for ſeveral days, was found in a neighbouring foreſt half eaten by wild beaſts. He had apparently been ſtarved to death. His hands were joined, and on his lifeleſs lips lay the ſign of his faith. In this ſtate ſome negròes brought him to us, and we rendered the laſt offices to this Chriſtian martyr this morning.

We are informed that in all the diſtricts where the deported are ſtationed, their fate is no leſs horrible than ours. Death ſeems to divide himſelf, in order to ſtrike them with the more rapidity: thoſe who have not fallen, languiſh in the moſt dreadful condition; and it ſeems as though this part of Guiana were inhabited but by the ſhades and phantoms of the dead.

According

According to an exact calculation, it appears probable, that of the hundred and ninety-three perſons deported, ten will not be alive five months hence. Your ſon perhaps will ere then have fallen. Yet to him the apprehenſion of his fate is far from being a ſubject of affliction. He pauſes upon it without fear; and the hope that his ſoul, thus purged by ſuffering, will be worthy to appear before the tribunal of God, ſupports and ſtrengthens him amid all his trials.

Adieu, my dear father: may the Lord protect thy old age, and may his bleſſing fall upon my ſiſter, and her poor children!

I conclude by aſking your bleſſing upon myſelf, and the benefit and aſſiſtance of your prayers.

Your dutiful and affectionate ſon †,

DA ***.

† This letter reached the family of the writer, but his father, alas! was dead. Grief had brought down his gray hairs to the grave. *Fr. Ed.*

EXTRACT OF A LETTER

FROM

BARBE-MARBOIS TO HIS WIFE.

Sinamary, 29th Ventôſe, in the Year VII.

I HAD ſeen almoſt all my companions in misfortune periſh at Sinamary, and was myſelf ſcarcely able to ſurvive the dreadful contagion of the place. At length, however, I began to recover my health, though I ſtill continued in a very weak ſtate, ariſing from an illneſs of five months duration; when ſuddenly, in conſequence of an unfounded and ridiculous report, that the Engliſh were coming to Sinamary, I was removed, notwithſtanding my ſickneſs, to Cayenne, under a military force, being cloſely guarded by a corporal and four ſoldiers. Thus I dragged myſelf along with great pain and difficulty acroſs the ſands, ſometimes wet through with heavy rains, ſometimes ſinking beneath a ſcorching ſun. I expected indeed to have died, had not the care I experienced in the hoſpital ſomewhat recovered my health. Hopes were given to Laffond-Ladébat and myſelf, nay, we were even aſſured,

assured, on the part of the Agent, that we might settle in the island three leagues from Cayenne; and I was extremely desirous of doing so, since the air is less unwholesome there than here. When every thing was ready, both the plantation and our provisions, I wrote to the Agent, requesting permission to settle three leagues from Cayenne, in a wholesome spot, where we should not be exposed to the danger of being carried away by an armed force, on account of fears that were wholly chimerical. Upon this the Agent ordered notice to be given us, to be ready in an hour to return to Sinamary, and in less than that space we were put on board an open canoe, where the surge came frequently over me. This canoe, in which there was no seat, was a quarter full of water. Thus I passed the night in a cold bath, exposed to the wind, and in a cruel state of suffering. Hence I had a relapse of my fever, and since the 16th, when I arrived, I have had seven violent attacks.

This treatment cannot be justified on any ground whatever. But I omit such particulars as would give you the greatest pain. To me they must produce fatal consequences; for, notwithstanding my energy and fortitude, they will cer-

tainly ſhorten my life. Judge by what I write of that on which I am ſilent; and, if I cannot obtain juſtice, if I cannot be brought to trial, let me at leaſt be allowed to inhabit a leſs hoſtile climate. Otherwiſe the next year will be the laſt of my life; for the ſummers here are extremely fatal.

(Signed) BARBE-MARBOIS.

ARRIVAL

ARRIVAL OF THE DEPORTED PERSONS IN LONDON.

*M. de R*** to M. Lewis Zelmann, a Merchant at Hamburgh.*

London, October 27, 1798.

OF the eight deported perſons who effected their eſcape from Guiana, only four have arrived in London, namely, on the 25th September laſt. I have had occaſion to ſee Meſſrs. Pichegru and De la Rue five or ſix times, and I hope to cultivate their acquaintance ſtill further. With them is M. Doſſonville, who ſeems to be extremely attached to them. As to Adjutant-general Ramel, the Government did not permit him to remain long in England. His misfortunes have not yet obliterated the remembrance of the ſhare he took in the denunciations of Malo, at the time of the trial of La Vilheurnois. Hence, two days after his arrival, he received an order to take his departure for the continent. Being, however, totally deſtitute, Mr. Wickham generouſly ſupplied him with neceſſaries, in compaſſion to his extraordinary ſufferings.

Now that I am acquainted with General Pichegru,

gru, I am no longer ſurpriſed at his great military reputation; and you know that I am not accuſtomed to form raſh and precipitate judgments. 'Tis therefore after having long ſtudied his character, that I venture to pronounce my opinion; Pichegru then is indiſputably one of the greateſt Generals in Europe; but I do not imagine him to poſſeſs equal talents as a Stateſman. He is rather to be conſidered as one of thoſe brave men, whoſe proper place is at the head of an army. His very walk is that of a conqueror, his manner and appearance thoſe of a hero, and his countenance that of an honeſt man. He never ſpeaks but of his country, and it is eaſy to perceive that his opinion is entirely the child of patriotiſm. In general, however, he talks but little, and leaves to his friend and colleague De la Rue the buſineſs of keeping up the converſation. De la Rue ſeems to poſſeſs a ſtrong mind; his manners are noble, his language fluent, and he appears wholly engroſſed with the intereſts of France—I believe his morals to be as ſtrict as his talents are brilliant. General Pichegru ſpeaks of him as of a moſt courageous man. They are very cloſe friends.

On their arrival in London, the deported perſons had the good fortune to meet with the worthy Tilly,

Tilly, the American Captain, who had been their deliverer, and whom the Commiſſary Jeannet had ſent from Cayenne for France to be tried there. But the veſſel that was bringing him over being taken by the Engliſh, this excellent man had the good fortune to eſcape the vengeance of the French Government. The deported were unable to offer him any other recompence than the tears of gratitude; but he was treated by the Miniſtry with the greateſt diſtinction, and every requiſite meaſure has been taken to enable him to return to his own country without incurring further danger.

Pichegru being indiſpoſed at the time of his arrival in England, the phyſicians preſcribed the country air. De la Rue, however, who continued in London for their common intereſts, went every other day to viſit his friend. The General has received, and ſtill continues to receive, daily viſits from the moſt diſtinguiſhed Members of Parliament, and other perſons of eminence.

The deported eſcaped from the place of their baniſhment in a moſt miraculous manner. During the interval therefore that will precede the publication of their own Memoirs, I ſend you the following Extract of a Letter, which contains an account of their eſcape. It is a ſimple narration communi-

cated by M. De la Rue, which he permitted me to copy, and which I am eager to tranſmit you.

" After a moſt painful voyage of fifty-two days, " the deported arrived, almoſt all in a ſtate of ſick- " neſs, at Cayenne the capital of Guiana, and ſitu- " ated in an iſland of the ſame name *. Here they " were impriſoned during a fortnight at the hoſpi- " tal, from which they were removed to a ſpot at " twenty-five leagues diſtance on the continent, in " the moſt miſerable part of the colony, where " they were placed under a guard of negro ſoldiers, " whoſe rage endeavours were made inceſſantly " to provoke againſt their priſoners, by aſſerting " that it was their intention again to reduce the " blacks to ſlavery.

" Condemned to live upon ſailors' allowance, " lodged in rooms built for negro priſons, each " moment threatened with the poniard, or with " poiſon, forced to aſſociate with the ferocious " Billaud-Varennes, loaded with humiliations, " deprived of all communication with the inhabit- " ants of the colony, ſurrounded with all the accu- " mulated cauſes of approaching deſtruction, a

* " The Agent of the Directory in this colony is one Jeannet, " who performed his revolutionary career under Danton, his " uncle."

" party

" party of them formed a plan to rescue them-
" selves from this state of degradation and misery,
" and from the fate that had already fallen on the
" venerable Murinais, and which still hung over
" the heads of all his survivors. And though the
" difficulties they had to encounter were innume-
" rable, and the dangers terrific; yet their courage
" overcame the one, and braved the other. A mere
" Indian canoe was the only vessel wherein they
" performed a voyage of a hundred leagues on a
" stormy sea, in a track with which they were to-
" tally unacquainted, and without a compass. In
" this fragile bark, after having languished six
" months and a half in an almost savage state,
" eight of them committed themselves to the
" waves: namely Messrs. Barthélemy and his ser-
" vant, General Pichegru, Aubry, De la Rue,
" Willot, Dossonville, and Ramel. They departed
" in the night of the 3d of June, and on the 5th
" met with a heavy sea which drove them on
" the coast, wrecked their canoe, and deprived
" them of the little biscuit that remained *.

" Forests, which had hitherto known no inha-

* " This explains a passage in Ramel's Narrative, that has
" given cause for much surprise: no one believing it possible to
" exist six days entirely without eating." *Fr. Ed.*

" bitants

" bitants but tigers and other wild beaſts, now " became their aſylum. Tormented with the fear " of being ſtill upon French territory, and covered " by innumerable inſects of various ſpecies, ſink- " ing with hunger and thirſt, expoſed to the fero- " city of the Maroon negroes who infeſt this part " of Guiana, they continued in this dreadful ſitua- " tion till two days after, when they were liberated " by two Dutch ſoldiers, whom chance directed that " way. Miſtaken at firſt by theſe men for enemies, " they had nearly become the objects of their fire, " till, by the ſignals of friendſhip they held out, " they diſſipated their ſuſpicions, and were in- " formed they were only three leagues from a " Dutch poſt called Orange.

" On their arrival there they obtained, without " difficulty, of the Commandant, all the needful " accommodations for their journey to Surinam, " where they were received in the kindeſt and moſt " honourable manner. But, through fear of ex- " poſing the colony, and particularly its worthy " Governor, to the vengeance of the French Direc- " tory, whoſe fatal influence on Holland is too " well known, they determined to leave it a few " days afterwards, except Monſ. Barthélemy, whoſe " bad ſtate of health would not have permitted

" him

" him to ſupport the fatigues and encounter the
" dangers that ſtill awaited them: for they endea-
" voured in vain to procure a paſſage on board
" ſome merchant-ſhip, all of them being enſured
" under an expreſs condition not to take any paſ-
" ſengers whatever.

" Thus they were obliged to embark on board a
" mere ſhallop, in ſeas that were continually in-
" feſted by the pirates of Hugues, Vice-director of
" Guadaloupe. Scarcely had they got out to ſea
" before they were attacked by a privateer, which,
" however, fortunately proved to be Engliſh. The
" next day a ſecond privateer came up with them,
" under French colours, a black crew, and the
" captain ſpeaking French, all characteriſtic marks
" of her being one of Hugues's cruiſers. For more
" than an hour the deported thought themſelves
" on the point of falling into the hands of that
" pirate; and therefore, in the conviction that
" death would be their lot, they all reſolved to riſk
" the immediate ſacrifice of their lives, in an at-
" tempt to take the privateer. Nor did they, till
" the captain came on board their veſſel, diſcover
" that he was Engliſh. This captain, like the
" former, treated them with great humanity. A
" third veſſel, however, ſoon gave them chaſe;

" and

" and to avoid her they ran into the mouth of a " river, which they found to be that of Berbice.

" The governor of this territory, and Colonel " Heſlop, Commandant of the troops, laviſhed on " them all the attentions that a ſpirit of generoſity " could ſuggeſt to men of honour and ſenſibility. " The latter conveyed them himſelf to Demarary, " on board a ſhip very completely armed.

" The highly flattering reception, however, " which they experienced from the Governor and " inhabitants of Demarary, was ſoon clouded by a " new and painful ſeparation. Meſſrs. Willot and " Aubry were attacked with a very dangerous " fever, and were totally unable to undertake the " voyage. The reſt were put on board a very fine " merchant-ſhip, called the Grenade, commanded " by the very worthy Capt. Paichard. But con- " trary winds not permitting the fleet to which the " Grenade belonged to put into Martinique, the " exiles were carried to St. Euſtatius, where they " were treated with all the affability and attention " that could be expected from the very reſpectable " Governor and the worthy inhabitants of that " iſland. Soon afterwards, Admiral Hervey, on " the information of Colonel Heſlop, gave orders " for their ſafe and commodious conveyance; and

" they

" they ſailed on board the *Aimable*, commanded
" by Capt. Lobb, whoſe kindneſs and attention give
" him a claim to their eternal gratitude and eſteem.
" They arrived in London on the 25th Sept. laſt;
" whence they are extremely impatient to depart,
" that they may have it in their power to ſeize
" every opportunity again to be uſeful to their
" native country."

To this narrative, which cannot but be extremely intereſting to you, I will add an account of the eſcape of Sir Sydney Smith and the long captivity he endured. They are not written, it is true, by Sir Sydney himſelf; but he relates his adventures with ſo much elegance and ſpirit, that they have made a very ſtrong impreſſion on my mind. Indeed, when I ſhowed him the following narrative, of which I ſend you a copy, he expreſſed great ſurpriſe at the fidelity of my memory.

Account of Sir Sydney Smith's Impriſonment and Eſcape.

" When I was taken at ſea," ſaid the gallant Commodore, " I was accompanied by my ſecretary
" and M. de Tr——, a French gentleman, who
" had emigrated from his country, and who, it had

" been agreed, was to pass for my servant, in the " hope of saving his life by that disguise. Nor " were our expectations frustrated; for John (as " I called him) was lucky enough to escape all " suspicion.

" On my arrival in France, I was treated at first " with unexampled rigour, and was told that I ought " to be tried under a military commission and shot " as a spy. The government, however, gave " orders for my removal to Paris, where I was sent " to the Abbaye, and, together with my two com- " panions in misfortune, was kept a close pri- " soner.

" Meanwhile, the means of escape were the " constant object on which we employed our " minds. The window of our prison was toward " the street; and from this circumstance we de- " rived a hope sooner or later to effect our object. " We already contrived to carry on a tacit and " regular correspondence, by means of signs, with " some women, who could see us from their apart- " ments, and who seemed to take the most lively " interest in our fate. They proposed themselves " to assist in facilitating my liberation; an offer " which I accepted with great pleasure: and it is " my duty to confess, that notwithstanding the

" enormous

" enormous expenſes occaſioned by their fruitleſs
" attempts, they have not leſs claim to my grati-
" tude. Till the time of my departure, in which,
" however, they had no ſhare, their whole employ-
" ment was endeavouring to ſave me; and they
" had the addreſs at all times to deceive the vigi-
" lance of my keepers. On both ſides we uſed
" borrowed names, under which we correſponded,
" theirs being taken from the ancient mythology;
" ſo that I had now a direct communication with
" Thalia, Melpomene, and Clio.

" At length I was removed to the Temple,
" where my three Muſes ſoon contrived means of
" intelligence, and every day offered me new
" ſchemes for effecting my eſcape. At firſt I ea-
" gerly accepted them all, though reflection ſoon
" deſtroyed the hopes to which the love of liberty
" had given birth. I was alſo reſolved not to
" leave my ſecretary in priſon, and ſtill leſs poor
" John, whoſe ſafety was more dear to me than
" my own emancipation.

" In the Temple, John was allowed to enjoy a
" conſiderable degree of liberty. He was lightly
" dreſt like an Engliſh jockey, and knew how to
" aſſume the manners that correſponded with that
" character. Every one was fond of John, who

" drank and fraterniſed with the turnkeys, and
" made love to the keeper's daughter, who was
" perſuaded he would marry her; and as the little
" Engliſh jockey was not ſuppoſed to have received
" a very brilliant education, he had learnt, by
" means of ſtudy, ſufficiently to mutilate his native
" tongue. John appeared very attentive and
" eager in my ſervice, and always ſpoke to his
" maſter in a very reſpectful manner. I ſcolded
" him from time to time *with much gravity*; and
" he played his part ſo well, that I frequently ſur-
" priſed myſelf forgetting the friend, and ſeriouſly
" giving orders to the valet. At length John's
" wife, Madame de Tr * * *, a very intereſting
" lady, arrived at Paris, and made the moſt un-
" common exertions to liberate us from our cap-
" tivity. She dared not come, however, to the
" Temple through fear of diſcovery; but from a
" neighbouring houſe ſhe daily beheld her huſband,
" who, as he walked to and fro, enjoyed alike in
" ſecret the pleaſure of contemplating the friend of
" his boſom. Madame de Tr * * * now commu-
" nicated a plan for delivering us from priſon to a
" ſenſible and courageous young man of her ac-
" quaintance, who immediately acceded to it
" without heſitation. This Frenchman, who was

" fincerely attached to his country, ſaid to Madame " de Tr***, ' I will ſerve Sydney Smith with " pleaſure, becauſe I believe the Engliſh govern- " ment intend to reſtore Louis XVIII. to the " throne; but if the Commodore is to fight " againſt France, and not for the King of France, " Heaven forbid I ſhould aſſiſt him!'

" Ch. L'Oiſeau (for that was the name our " young friend aſſumed) was connected with the " agents of the King, then confined in the Tem- " ple, and for whom he was alſo contriving the " means of eſcape. It was intended we ſhould all " get off together. M. La Vilheurnois being con- " demned only to a year's impriſonment, was " reſolved not to quit his preſent ſituation; but " Brothier and Duverne de Preſle were to follow " our example. Had our ſcheme ſucceeded, this " Duverne would not, perhaps, have ceaſed to " be an honeſt man; for till then he had con- " ducted himſelf as ſuch. His condition muſt now " be truly deplorable; for I do not think him " formed by nature for the commiſſion of crimes.

" Every thing was now prepared for the execu- " tion of our project. The means propoſed by " Ch. L'Oiſeau appeared practicable, and we re- " ſolved to adopt them. A hole twelve feet long

" was to be made in a cellar adjoining to the " priſon, and the apartments to which the cellar " belonged were at our diſpoſal. Mademoiſelle " D * * *, rejecting every prudential conſideration, " generouſly came to reſide there for a week, and " being young, the other lodgers attributed to her " alone the frequent viſits of Ch. L'Oiſeau. Thus " every thing ſeemed to favour our wiſhes. No " one in the houſe in queſtion had any ſuſpicions; " and the amiable little child Madlle. D * * * had " with her, and who was only ſeven years old, " was ſo far from betraying our ſecret, that ſhe " always beat a little drum, and made a noiſe, " while the work was going on in the cellar.

" Meanwhile L'Oiſeau had continued his labours " a conſiderable time without any appearance of " day-light, and he was apprehenſive he had at- " tempted the opening conſiderably too low. It " was neceſſary, therefore, that the wall ſhould be " ſounded; and for this purpoſe a maſon was re- " quired. Madame de Tr * * * recommended " one, and Ch. L'Oiſeau undertook to bring him, " and to detain him in the cellar till we had " eſcaped, which was to take place that very day. " The worthy maſon perceived the object was to " ſave ſome of the victims of misfortune, and

" came

" came without hesitation. He only said, ' *If I* " *am arrested, take care of my poor children.*'

" But what a misfortune now frustrated all our " hopes! Though the wall was founded with the " greatest precaution, the last stone fell out, and " rolled into the garden of the Temple. The " centinel perceived it; the alarm was given; the " guard arrived; and all was discovered. For- " tunately, however, our friends had time to make " their escape, and none of them were taken.

" They had, indeed, taken their measures with " the greatest care; and when the Commissaries " of the *Bureau Central* came to examine the cellar " and apartment, they found only a few pieces of " furniture, trunks filled with logs of wood and " hay, and the hats with tri-coloured cockades " provided for our flight, as those we wore were " black.

" This first attempt, though extremely well " conducted, having failed, I wrote," continued Sir Sydney, " to Mad. de Tr* * *, both to console " her and our young friend, who was miserable " at having foundered just as he was going into " port. We were so far, however, from suffering " ourselves to be discouraged, that we still con- " tinued to form new schemes for our deliverance,

" The

" The keeper perceived it, and I was frequently ſo " open as to acknowledge the fact. ' *Commodore,*' " ſaid he, ' *your friends are deſirous of liberating* " *you, and they only diſcharge their duty. I alſo am* " *doing mine in watching you ſtill more narrowly.*' " Though this keeper was a man of unparalleled " ſeverity, yet he never departed from the rules of " civility and politeneſs. He treated all the pri- " ſoners with kindneſs, and even piqued himſelf " on his generoſity. Various propoſals were made " to him, but he rejected them all, watched us " the more cloſely, and preſerved the profoundeſt " ſilence. One day when I dined with him, he " perceived that I fixed my attention on a window " then partly open, and which looked upon the " ſtreet. I ſaw his uneaſineſs, and it amuſed me; " however, to put an end to it, I ſaid to him, " laughing, ' *I know what you are thinking of*; " *but fear not. It is now three o'clock. I will make* " *a truce with you till midnight*; *and I give you my* " *word of honour, that till that time, even were the* " *doors open, I would not eſcape. When that hour is* " *paſſed, my promiſe is at an end, and we are enemies* " *again.*'—' *Sir,*' replied he, ' *your word is a ſafer* " *bond than my bars and bolts: till midnight, there-* " *fore, I am perfectly eaſy.*'

" When

" When we roſe from table, the keeper took me " aſide, and ſpeaking with warmth, ſaid, ' *Com-* " *modore, the Boulevard is not far. If you are in-* " *clined to take the air there, I will conduct you.*' " My aſtoniſhment was extreme; nor could I " conceive how this man, who appeared ſo ſevere, " and ſo uneaſy, ſhould thus ſuddenly perſuade " himſelf to make me ſuch a propoſal. I accepted " it, however, and in the evening we went out. " From that time forward this confidence always " continued. Whenever I was deſirous to enjoy " perfect liberty, I offered him a *ſuſpenſion of arms* " till a certain hour. This my generous enemy " never refuſed; but when the armiſtice was at an " end, his vigilance was unbounded. Every poſt " was examined; and if the government ordered " that I ſhould be kept cloſe, the order was en- " forced with the greateſt care. Thus I was again " free to contrive and prepare for my eſcape, and " he to treat me with the utmoſt rigour.

" This man had a very accurate idea of the ob- " ligations of honour. He often ſaid to me, " ' *Were you even under ſentence of death, I would* " *permit you to go out on your parole, becauſe I ſhould* " *be certain of your return. Many very honeſt pri-* " *ſoners, and I myſelf among the reſt, would not re-*

" *turn*

" *turn in the like caſe; but an officer, and eſpecially* " *an officer of diſtinction, holds his honour dearer than* " *his life. I know it to be a fact, Commodore; and* " *therefore I ſhould be leſs uneaſy, if you deſired the* " *gates to be always open.*'

" My keeper was right. While I enjoyed my " liberty, I endeavoured even to loſe ſight of the " idea of my eſcape; and I ſhould have been " averſe to employ for that object, means that had " occurred to my imagination during my hours of " liberty. One day I received a letter containing " matter of great importance, which I had the " ſtrongeſt deſire immediately to read; but as its " contents related to my intended deliverance, I " aſked to return to my room, and break off the " truce. The keeper however refuſed, ſaying, " with a laugh, that he wanted to take ſome ſleep. " Accordingly he lay down, and I poſtponed the " peruſal of my letter till the evening.

" Meanwhile no opportunity of flight offered; " but, on the contrary, the Directory ordered " me to be treated with rigour. The keeper " punctually obeyed all the orders he received; " and he who the preceding evening had granted " me the greateſt liberty, now doubled my guard, " in order to exerciſe a more perfect vigilance.

" Among

" Among the prisoners was a man condemned " for certain political offences to ten years con- " finement, and whom all the other prisoners sus- " pected of acting in the detestable capacity of a " spy upon his companions. Their suspicions " indeed appeared to have some foundation, and " I felt the greatest anxiety on account of my " friend John. I was however fortunate enough " soon after to obtain his liberty. An exchange " of prisoners being about to take place, I applied " to have *my servant* included in the cartel; and " though this request might easily have been re- " fused, fortunately no difficulty arose, and it was " granted.

" When the day of his departure arrived, my " kind and affectionate friend could scarcely be " prevailed on to leave me; till at length he " yielded to my most earnest entreaties. We " parted with tears in our eyes, which to me were " the tears of pleasure, because my friend was " leaving a situation of the greatest danger. The " amiable *jockey* was regretted by every one: our " turnkeys drank a good journey to him, nor " could the girl he had courted help weeping for " his departure; while her mother, who thought

" John a very *good youth*, hoped ſhe ſhould one " day call him her ſon-in-law.

" I was ſoon informed of his arrival in London; " and this circumſtance rendered my own cap- " tivity leſs painful. I ſhould have been happy to " have alſo exchanged my ſecretary; but as he " had no other dangers to encounter than thoſe " which were common to us both, he always re- " jected the idea, conſidering it as a violation of " that friendſhip, of which he has given me ſo " many proofs.

" On the 4th Sept. (18th Fructidor) the rigour " of my confinement was ſtill further increaſed. " The keeper, whoſe name was Laſne, was diſ- " placed; I was again kept cloſe priſoner; and, " together with my liberty, loſt the hopes of a " peace, which I had thought approaching, and " which this event muſt contribute to poſtpone.

" At this time a propoſal was made to me for " my eſcape, which I adopted as my laſt reſource. " The plan was, to have forged orders drawn up " for my removal to another priſon, and thus to " carry me off. A French gentleman, M. de " Phélipeaux, a man of equal intrepidity and " generoſity, offered to execute this enterpriſe,

" The

" The order then being accurately imitated,
" and, by means of a bribe, the real ſtamp of the
" miniſter's ſignature procured, nothing remained
" but to find men bold enough to put the plan in
" execution. Phélipeaux and Ch. L'Oiſeau would
" have eagerly undertaken it; but both being
" known, and even notorious at the Temple, it
" was abſolutely neceſſary to employ others.
" Meſſrs. B*** and L*** therefore, both men of
" tried courage, accepted the office with pleaſure
" and alacrity.

" With this order then they came to the Tem-
" ple; M. B*** in the dreſs of an adjutant,
" and M. L*** as an officer. The keeper having
" peruſed the order, and attentively examined the
" miniſter's ſignature, went into another room,
" leaving my two deliverers for ſome time in the
" cruelleſt uncertainty and ſuſpenſe. At length
" he returned, accompanied by the regiſter (or
" greffier) of the priſon, and ordered me to be
" called. When the regiſter informed me of the
" orders of the Directory, I pretended to be very
" much concerned at it; but the Adjutant aſſured
" me, in the moſt ſerious manner, ' that the go-
" vernment were very far from intending to ag-
" gravate my misfortunes, and that I ſhould be

" very comfortable at the place whither he was " ordered to conduct me.' I expreſſed my grati- " tude to all the ſervants employed about the " priſon, and, as you may imagine, was not very " long in packing up my clothes.

" At my return, the regiſter obſerved, that at " leaſt ſix men from the guard muſt accompany " me; and the Adjutant, without being in the " leaſt confounded, acquieſced in the juſtice of the " remark, and gave orders for them to be called " out. But *on reflection*, and remembering, as it " were, the laws of chivalry and of honour, he " addreſſed me, ſaying, ' *Commodore, you are an* " *officer. I am an officer alſo. Your parole will be* " *enough. Give me that, and I have no need of an* " *eſcort.*'—' *Sir,*' replied I, ' *if that is ſufficient, I* " *ſwear upon the faith of an officer, to accompany* " *you wherever you chooſe to conduct me.*' Every " one applauded this *noble action*, while I confeſs I " had myſelf great difficulty to avoid ſmiling.

" The keeper now aſked for a diſcharge, and " the regiſter gave the book to M. B***, who " boldly ſigned it, with a proper flouriſh, L. Oger, " Adjutant-general. Meanwhile I employed the " attention of the turnkeys, and loaded them with " favours, to prevent them from having time to

" reflect;

" reflect: nor indeed did they seem to have any
" other thought than their own advantage. The
" register and keeper accompanied us as far as the
" second court; and at length the last gate was
" opened, and we left them after a long inter-
" change of ceremony and politeness.

" We instantly entered a hackney-coach, and the
" *Adjutant* ordered the coachman to drive to the
" suburb of St. Germain. But the stupid fellow
" had not gone a hundred paces before he broke
" his wheel against a post, and hurt an unfortu-
" nate passenger; and this unlucky incident
" brought a crowd around us, who were very
" angry at the injury the poor fellow sustained.
" We quitted the coach, took our portmanteaus in
" our hands, and went off in an instant. Though
" the people observed us much, they did not say a
" word to *us*, only abusing the coachman; and
" when our driver demanded his fare, M. L***,
" through an inadvertency that might have caused
" us to be arrested, gave him a double louis
" d'or.

" Having separated, when we quitted the car-
" riage, I arrived at the appointed rendezvous
" with only my secretary and M. de Phélipeaux,
" who had joined us near the prison; and though

" I was

" I was very desirous of waiting for my two friends, " to thank and take my leave of them, M. de " Phélipeaux observed, there was not a moment " to be lost. I therefore postponed till another " opportunity my expression of gratitude to my " deliverers; and we immediately set off for " Rouen, where M. R*** had made every pre- " paration for our reception.

" At Rouen we were obliged to stay several " days; and as our passports were perfectly regu- " lar, we did not take much care to conceal our- " selves, but in the evening we walked about the " town, or took the air on the banks of the " Seine.

" At length, every thing being ready for us to " cross the channel, we quitted Rouen, and, " without encountering any further dangers, I ar- " rived in London, together with my secretary " and my friend M. de Phélipeaux, who could not " prevail on himself to leave us."

Such, or nearly such, my dear friend, is the account given by Sir Sydney Smith of his escape; which, though I have written with haste, I have endeavoured to relate with accuracy. I am happy in having frequent opportunities of seeing Sir Sydney,

ney, who is a brave and generous-hearted man, with a fine countenance, and eyes that ſparkle with intelligence. His very appearance ſhows that he has an ardent imagination, which naturally prompts him to form and execute bold and important enterpriſes; and he ſeems, as it were, to be born to deſerve glory, and to acquire it.

With M. Phélipeaux, whom I alſo frequently ſee at Sir Sydney's, I have long been acquainted. He poſſeſſes talents as an officer of engineers, is a worthy man, of a mild and engaging countenance, and of tried and undoubted courage. His health ſeems very delicate; and yet, although a young man, he has experienced many extraordinary adventures; having ſerved in all the campaigns in the army of Condé. He commanded in Berry, and eſcaped death by breaking out of a ſtate priſon. The Engliſh government has lately offered him a brevet of colonel, which he refuſed, ſaying he was in the ſervice of the King of France, and would accept no other ſo long as the leaſt hope remains of being uſeful to his country.

But to return to the deported. Though but little acquainted with their plans, I cannot imagine they will continue long in London. They talk already of going to the continent. Should they go to

Hamburg, I will write you by them; but ſome buſineſs, which I cannot bring to a concluſion, detains me here at preſent. Great changes are announced as about to take place in France. May they be realized for the good of all parties! But, alas! what endleſs evils oppreſs mankind! What torrents of blood have flowed ſince the commencement of the fatal revolution! What torrents of blood muſt ſtill be ſhed!

Adieu, my dear friend. Continue to write to me frequently. Embrace for me our dear Paul, and remember me to the family of Pelſenn. I ſend you the books you aſk for, a work recently publiſhed on the French revolution, and the laſt number of Mallet-du-Pan's Mercure Britannique.

Believe me wholly yours,

De R***.

THE PRESENT STATE

OF ALL THE

DEPORTED PERSONS, ON THE 12TH FRUCTIDOR IN THE YEAR VII. (AUGUST 29TH, 1799).

OF the fixteen perſons firſt deported to Guiana, ſix, as we have already ſeen in the courſe of this work, died at Sinamary, under the weight of miſery and perſecution: namely,

M. de Murinais, an old field-marſhal, and ſince Pariſian deputy to the Council of Elders.

Tronçon-du-Coudray, a pleader celebrated for his eloquence, and a member of the Council of Elders.

Rovère, a member of the Convention, and ſince re-elected to the Council of Elders.

Bourdon de l'Oiſe, formerly an attorney, member of the Convention, and deputy in the Council of Five Hundred.

La Vilheurnois, formerly a maſter of requeſts, and agent to Louis XVIII. condemned by a miliary commiſſion to a year's impriſonment, and afterwards deported to Guiana without trial.

Brothier, a miniſter of religion, ex profeſſor of mathematics, and, during the revolution, an agent

to Louis XVIII. condemned to ten years impriſonment by a military commiſſion, and deported as the laſt.

The eight following made their eſcape; namely,

Pichegru, ex-general (in chief), and ſince deputy and preſident of the Council of Five Hundred.

De la Rue, deputy from la Nièvre, and member of the Committee of Inſpectors of the ſame Council.

The two laſt remained ſome months in London, but are now in Germany.

Ramel, commander of the grenadier corps of the Legiſlative Body, left his companions in London, and went over to the Continent to join his friend Dumas, together with whom he wrote his Narrative; nor could he indeed have choſen a better coadjutor. They are now both at Altona near Hamburg.

Doſſonville, ex-agent of police, has lately left Hamburg to join Pichegru.

Aubry, an officer of artillery, a member of the Convention, and deputy to the Council of Five Hundred. Various reports prevail concerning him. He is ſaid by ſome to have died at Déméraary, and by others to have arrived at Hamburg; but

but nothing certain is known relative to his fate. He was, however, inſcribed in the liſt of emigrants, and the little property he ſtill poſſeſſed put in ſequeſtration. His wife had made many ſacrifices to procure him ſome relief, which ſhe ſent to him at Cayenne. This conſignment was ſeized by Jeannet.

Willot, general of brigade, and deputy from Marſeilles to the Legiſlative Body. He was in London on the 11th of laſt month, and intended to take his departure to join Pichegru. By this time they are probably together.

Barthélemy, ambaſſador to Switzerland, and afterwards member of the Directory. He was obliged to leave London and go to the Continent.

Le Tellier.—But my pen makes an involuntary pauſe, and my eyes overflow with tears of ſimpathy and grief.—Le Tellier is no more!—O Barthélemy! baniſhment was not the heavieſt blow thy feeling ſoul endured! Yes, thou hadſt once a generous friend, whoſe cares prolonged thy life, and that friend breathes no more. Le Tellier, alas! died on his paſſage from Démérary to London. "My dear maſter," ſaid he, as he was breathing his laſt, "live but happy the reſt of thy days, and "I die contented."

The afflicted Barthélemy, oppreſſed with the profoundeſt grief, could ſcarcely be perſuaded to leave the corpſe of his friend, which he bathed with his tears and preſſed to his boſſom, as though he would have re-animated it by imparting to it his own life; and it was with great difficulty he was at length removed from this melancholy ſcene.

Yes, excellent Le Tellier, thou art no more! But thy heroic actions ſhall long ſurvive thee.—May thy name never be pronounced without reſpect and veneration! May thy memory be handed down to the lateſt poſterity, and the remembrance of thy virtues ſometimes ſilence the remembrance of the crimes that have polluted our unhappy country!

Of the exiles that refuſed to make their eſcape, only two are ſtill at Guiana; namely,

Barbé-Marbois, ex-intendant of St. Domingo, and member of both the Legiſlative Aſſemblies.

Laffond-Ladébat, a banker, Pariſian deputy to the Legiſlative Aſſembly, and afterwards re-elected to the Council of Elders, of which he was Preſident on the 18th Fructidor.

Theſe two deputies are ſtill in baniſhment at Sinamary, where death continually hangs over them, though it has not yet deſtroyed them; and they

they wait with fortitude for the time when juſtice ſhall liberate them from this dread abode. At length permiſſion has been granted them, and alſo to Job-Aimé, to go to the iſle of Olêron. Heaven grant, that when this permiſſion arrives, they may ſtill be alive, and able to make uſe of it!

Job-Aimé is ſtill living. On his arrival at Guiana he obtained permiſſion from Jeannet's ſucceſſor, Brunel, to eſtabliſh himſelf in a plantation in the neighbourhood of Cayenne.

Gibert-Deſmolières.—This worthy man, who was always ſo uſeful to his country, has ceaſed to exiſt. He was in the ſame plantation with Job-Aimé, where, after ſeveral violent fits of illneſs, he began to accuſtom himſelf to the pernicious climate he inhabited. But, exhauſted by the exceſſive heats which are reflected from a burning ſand, he could not reſiſt the temptation to bathe; in conſequence of which his fever returned; and being ſubject to the gout, he had alſo a dreadful attack of that diſorder, and expired a few days after.

Twelve of thoſe who were deported by the frigate La Décade, have lately effected their eſcape, having employed the ſame means, and taken the ſame route, as Pichegru and his friends, though it is not yet known whether they had the ſame ſucceſs.

Almoſt all the reſt, prieſts, journaliſts, and emigrants, have died of mifery and want.

According to the Report of Defvieux, that cruel commandant, of whom the exiles had ſo much cauſe to complain, there only exiſted at Guiana, at the time when it was drawn up, forty of their number. Governors of France, ye that are acquainted with this fact, remove your victims from that murderous climate! Men of every party, if you are deaf to the voice of juſtice, liſten at leaſt to the voice of humanity! Join in demanding that theſe unfortunate men ſhould be at length reſcued from an approaching and a painful death. A few days longer, and they will have fallen. Perhaps even now the laſt of them has expired, and it is no longer in your power to ſave them!

MEMOIRE

MEMOIRE OF BARBE-MARBOIS,

ADDRESSED TO HIS WIFE.

——Audi
Nulla unquam de morte hominis cunctatio eſt,

Sinamary, 12 Thermidor, in the year VI.

My dear Eliza,

I WROTE you on the 20th Ventôſe, requeſting you to uſe all your exertions to bring on my trial. I ſent you my letter at twelve different times, ſome by friends, ſome by the depoſitaries of public authority, requeſting them to peruſe it before they ſent it. I have purſued the ſame method with the preſent.

A captive, at the diſtance of 1600 leagues from my native country, and in abſolute dependance upon thoſe by whom I am baniſhed; alone, as it were, before the aſſembled nation, I enter on my defence, deprived, alas! of every aid but that of truth and juſtice.

Time, which brings all human affairs to a cloſe, will one day alſo put a period to my baniſhment, either by laying me with my companions in the cemetery of Sinamary, or by reſtoring me to my native land.

land. But a premature, a violent, and a uſeleſs death would fix an indelible ſpot on thoſe who ſhould be the authors of it; whereas my being recalled, and afterwards tried, would be an act of equity, that would do honour to my country, reſtore vigour to the laws, and give ſplendour to the conſtitution. Elevated with this hope, I ceaſe to conſider myſelf as an inſulated being; for, if juſtice is dear to man, and if my fellow citizens really love it, their will muſt be, that I ſhould be brought to trial.

In every page of the Conſtitution they will find an anſwer equally favourable and energetic to my demand *: and as I would never have ſuffered theſe

* "No one ſhall be proſecuted, accuſed, arreſted, or impri-
" ſoned, except in the caſes determined by the law, and according
" to the forms preſcribed." Art. VIII.

"No one ſhall be tried, until he has been heard or legally
" called." Art. XI.

"The members of the Legiſlative Body, from the time of their
" election and until thirty days after the expiration of their func-
" tions, ſhall only be tried according to the forms preſcribed in the
" following articles. For criminal acts they may be ſeized *flagrante*
" *delicto*; but information thereof ſhall be communicated with-
" out delay to the Legiſlative Body, and the proſecution ſhall not
" be continued until the Councils ſhall have ſanctioned the accu-
" ſation." Art. CXII.

"Excepting the caſe of *flagrans delictum* they ſhall not be
" brought before the officers of police, or put under arreſtation,
" until the Councils have propoſed and ordered their trial."
Art. CXIII.

" In

theſe laws to be infringed with regard to any one of my colleagues, I was very far from believing they could have been violated in my caſe. Still leſs did I apprehend, that the national repreſentation, for the ſecurity of which all the members ſtand pledged to each other, and have a mutual intereſt in ſupporting the laws, would be ſo far miſled by a fatal error as to ſtrike a mortal blow at its own exiſtence, by ſacrificing a conſiderable portion of its members.

At the time this blow fell upon us, the Legiſlative Body expected that thoſe who were the authors of it would produce the proofs of our crimes; that theſe would be ſo arranged as to aſſign to each of the accuſed his ſhare of the crime; and that the criminals, moſt of whom did not even know each other even by ſight, would be accuſed individually,

" In the caſes ſtated in the two laſt articles, members of the Le-
" giſlative Body ſhall not be brought before any other tribunal
" than the High Court of Juſtice." Art. CXIV.

" They ſhall be brought before the ſame Court for acts of
" treaſon, dilapidation, manœuvres to overturn the conſtitution
" of the State, and crimes againſt the internal ſafety of the Re-
" public." Art. CXV.

" No denunciation againſt a member of the Legiſlative Body
" can be made a ground for a proceſs, unleſs drawn up in writing,
" ſigned, and addreſſed to the Council of Five Hundred."
Art. CXVI.

" Accuſation pronounced againſt a member of the Legiſlative
" Body involves his ſuſpenſion." Art. CXXIII.

and not *en maſſe*. Hence their juſt and generous impatience frequently broke out, and on the 23 Pluviôſe, the very day on which I wrote to you to accelerate my trial, the Repreſentative Bailleul ſpoke as follows, in the name of the Committee appointed, after our condemnation, to declare our crimes:— "It is not," ſaid he, "through want of zeal that "the Committee have not yet brought up their re- "port relative to the events of the 18th Fructidor:" and after this candid declaration, he added, "They "are expecting very important papers ſeized by "the Miniſter of Police."

The Committee expected them. O Juſtice! Then they poſſeſſed them not, although, five months before, they ſent us into baniſhment, or rather condemned us to death. This perhaps is the firſt inſtance upon record, in which, after ſo long an interval, and after the death of part of the condemned, it has been talked of to produce the proofs of an offence puniſhed proviſorily with a mortal penalty. If I am able to demonſtrate my own innocence, it will be a new example of the danger of thus overturning the immutable order of all criminal procedures, and the order of reaſon itſelf, which requires the proof of the crime always to precede its puniſhments: and henceforward ſhall this caſe be

cited

cited in the hiſtory of extraordinary judgments, as one moſt calculated to ſhow the dreadful conſequences of precipitate and anticipated condemnations.

But if you had not theſe proofs after an interval of five months, you have ſurely received them ſince; for the Miniſter of Police, you ſay, had ſeized them.

At length, after another month had elapſed, the Council of Five Hundred, received on the 26th Ventôſe, this long-conſidered Report, which had been announced ſix months before, and which they ought to have received previous to our condemnation. This Report, which was at length tardily produced, as the act of accuſation againſt the deported perſons, contains the moſt evident proofs of my innocence.

It is true I am here ſpeaking only of myſelf; though, according to an obvious rule of natural juſtice, the innocence of my companions muſt be preſumed, as well as my own, till ſentence is pronounced. But as every accuſation ought to be perſonal and particular, ſo ought likewiſe the defence. Mine, which was from the firſt ſo eaſy, is rendered, if poſſible, ſtill more ſimple by this Report, of which the printing was decreed: and inſtead of the trite aſſertion of, "*I am innocent*," which I might utter in common with the oppreſſed, I may ſay, "*I am*

" *innocent by the Report of Bailleul.*" This Report I read with the utmoſt avidity, rather wiſhing, than hoping or expecting, to find ſome accuſation or inſinuation againſt myſelf. I wiſhed it, I ſay; becauſe I ſhould then have known to what I had to reply; whereas now, though not accuſed of any crime whatever, I am ſtill equally compelled to vindicate myſelf, ſince I am puniſhed as though I were not only accuſed, but tried and condemned.

" Your Committee," ſaid Bailleul in his Report, " have collected ALL THE FACTS HITHERTO " KNOWN."—" *All the facts!*" Here, then, is the accuſation, together with the facts on which it is grounded. I will proceed with the help of this glimmering of juſtice; and if all the facts are totally foreign to me, it is evident I am not comprehended in the accuſation. On reading this declaration then, which to me is ſo important, I redoubled my attention, and ſought throughout the Report both for my name and the facts that might be laid to my charge; but my name is not once mentioned. Among the facts, however, is one in which I confeſs I participated together with the majority of the Councils.

" The *horde*, ſtrengthened by the royaliſts," ſays the Repreſentative Bailleul, " have placed

" Barthélemy

" Barthélemy in the Directory; that Barthélemy " who was so much spoken of in the correspondence " of Le Maître; that Barthélemy who wrote to " the author of the tragedy of Louis XVI. ' *I do* " *not think you can again set foot on the territories of* " *France.*' " To me it is indifferent whether Barthélemy was spoken of by Le Maître, or whether he wrote these words or not; but if his nomination is a crime that deserves deportation, why have only eleven of the 250 members of the Council of Elders been deported?

But I will destroy this accusation by means still more direct. Barthélemy, who had been during seven years ambassador from the Republic to Switzerland, was invested both with the external marks, and the real proofs of the confidence of the Directory. He had negotiated, concluded, and signed the treaties of peace contracted between the Republic and the Kings of Spain and of Prussia. As Ambassador, he was particularly pointed out to our choice by the Constitution; while the Executive, to whom belong both the nomination and dismissal of the diplomatic functionaries, thus informed us he was worthy to be placed in the Directory, by giving him, during so long a period, the most public proofs of perfect confidence. Let

me

me aſk, then, whether among the whole maſs of French citizens there were many candidates who united ſuch deciſive claims to preference; and whether, provided this charge had the leaſt foundation, the pretended crime would not belong to the Directory itſelf, rather than the Legiſlative Body? Ought not all thoſe alſo to be accuſed that elected Carnot, who was deported equally with Barthélemy? In fact, however, this ſtrange accuſation cannot attach to either of theſe powers: it merely ſerves to ſhow the impoſſibility of ſuggeſting any real matter of accuſation.

This charge being diſpoſed of and deſtroyed, I do not find throughout the Report a ſingle word that can apply to me more particularly than to any other member of the Legiſlative Body. Were Bailleul himſelf in Guiana, and had to reply to the Report, he could neither hold a different language, nor defend himſelf by more concluſive reaſoning. The only difference between us is, that he read the Report to the Legiſlative Body, and I read it at Sinamary. But the diſtance and difference of climates cannot conſtitute either innocence or criminality. I am neither named, nor even pointed at, in the Report; and I cannot, without offending that body, ſuppoſe, that, had it been read to the

Council ſix months previous to the 18th Fructidor, they would, after hearing it, have ſent me to the deſerts of Guiana, where I am threatened with the ſame miſerable fate as half my companions in deportation have experienced.

It is impoſſible but the colleagues of the Repreſentative Bailleul, after having attentively heard him, muſt have ſaid, " Some of the deported " perſons, it is true, are named in the Report; " but the reſt are not even pointed at. The crimes " ſet forth are foreign to them, and yet capital " puniſhments have been inflicted on them all; " for thoſe unfortunate men are following each " other to the grave, and their ſurvivors do but " miſerably languiſh under the weight of their " accumulated ſufferings. They have been all " condemned in a maſs. Sometimes, indeed, re- " volutionary tribunals have heaped together " various accuſations, but they have always tried " the accuſed one by one, for crimes perſon- " ally imputed to them, and crimes detailed in " their ſentence. Never was it ſaid, Paul is " guilty of murder, let Paul, therefore, be con- " demned to death, and with him all thoſe who " have fallen into our hands. Humanity and " reaſon here go hand in hand with the laws in op- " poſing ſuch proceedings, and even require that

" thoſe

" thoſe who are not named ſhall be held to be " exempted from all condemnation."

It is well known that the Council reminded Bailleul himſelf of the language of equity and wiſdom, which he had ſpoken on the 24th Nivôſe; and I have a pleaſure in reciting them here: " The " conſtitution," ſaid he, " has laid down the forms " to be adopted in accuſations of the repreſentatives " of the people, and I demand that thoſe rules be " conformed to."

It would be difficult to conceive what reply Bailleul could make to this reaſoning. I ſhall copy his anſwer to it from a note annexed to his Report: " Note. From my not having ſtated particular " facts, perſonally, of each of the individuals " comprehended in the law of deportation, it " may, perhaps, be inferred, that thoſe, at leaſt, " who are not mentioned in the documents by " name, ought not to be conſidered as guilty. " But this would be a great miſtake. Suppoſe a " houſe to be broke open and robbed, and that " the thieves go off together, ſome of them only " carrying away the ſtolen goods, in this caſe can " it be ſaid the reſt are innocent, becauſe there is " no other proof but that they entered and left the " houſe together, and that they continued in com-

" pany,

" pany, and did not ſeparate ? The crime conſiſts " in the violation of the houſe of a citizen, not in " the unknown ſhare each individual may have had " in the acts by which the crime was perpetrated. " In the preſent caſe, a vaſt conſpiracy has exiſted " to cauſe the ſuffrages of the people to fall on bad " citizens. It is evident that theſe bad citizens, in " the various functions entruſted to them, have " purſued the ſteps pointed out to them by the " agents of the conſpiracy, have borrowed their lan- " guage, have been preſent at their meetings, and " that the plot was on the point of breaking out. " It is evident, therefore, that they are implicated " in the conſpiracy, although we cannot ſtate of " each individual, that he did ſuch ſpecific acts, or " deſcribe the preciſe part he was to perform." See page 47.

Although I have faithfully extracted this note, I muſt obſerve, that it was not read to the Council, and is no part of the Report of which the printing was ordered. I ſhould even refrain from anſwering it, were I not determined to confute every objection, how futile ſoever it may be, in order to prove, that not even any thing the leaſt ſpecious in appearance can be laid to my charge.

This taſk, indeed, is extremely eaſy; for even ſuppoſing the words juſt quoted had been read at the tribune previous to my condemnation, their plain and obvious ſenſe is, that a band of robbers had been ſurpriſed plundering a houſe, and that I was one of the number. The Council, therefore, would immediately have aſked where and what I had ſtolen? whether the banker's ſtrong box, the national treaſure, or ſome depoſit or magazine of goods, either public or private? To this Bailleul would have replied, They have conſpired; I have ſpoken of them as robbers merely by way of metaphor. They have conſpired then, would the judges have ſaid, and you ſay they did not ſeparate; interrogate me, I ſhould have ſaid, " On the 18th " Fructidor I was arreſted at the houſe of the pre- " ſident, where ſeven of us were aſſembled, namely; " Laffond the Preſident, Piedac Dericot, Tron- " çon, Launois, Goupil Prefeln, Maillard, and " myſelf. When the Gendarmerie came, the " doors were freely opened, and no one attempted " to fly; we were conducted without the leaſt " reſiſtance to the houſe of the Miniſter Sottin; " we pointed out to him that there was a miſtake, " and that the order of arreſtation named a dif- " ferent houſe; he acknowledged it, ſaid it was of

" no

" no conſequence, and added theſe truly memora-
" ble words: ' That after what he had taken upon
" himſelf, the committing himſelf a little more
" or a little leſs was of little importance;' and
" upon this explanation we were all ſent to the
" Temple." Yet of all the ſeven, only Laffond, Tronçon, and I, were ſent to Guiana; the reſt were ſet at liberty the next day, and reſtored to their legiſlative functions. This proves that it is not to the Preſident's houſe that Bailleul refers, and that we were not conſpiring there; and thus his conſpiracy alſo is a mere *metaphor*.

By this ſimple and eaſy analyſis, the Council would have cleared up a ſubject purpoſely clothed in obſcurity; they would not have ſuffered that the ſtatement and the terms of it ſhould be changed; that a mere unſubſtantial phantom, that ſhrinks and vaniſhes from examination, ſhould be produced as a concluſive witneſs; or that, in order to execute judgment upon us, and condemn us to puniſhments of which death is too certainly the conſequence, recourſe ſhould be had to tropes and figures for want of more ſolid and deciſive proofs.

Citizen Bailleul accuſes us of cauſing certain counter-revolutionary decrees to paſs; ſuch vague and general imputations afford not even matter for

diſcuſſion or reply; one ſingle obſervation inſtantly deſtroys this accuſation. At the ſittings of the Council of Elders, from one hundred and fifty to two hundred members uſually aſſembled, whereas the proſcribed members are only eleven! Beſides, theſe decrees ought to have been ſpecified, as alſo the individuals who ſupported or oppoſed them. Bailleul ſpecifies the decree of "*The organization* "*of the Gendarmerie, ſo drawn up that no officer of* "*the revolution can enter it.*" Yet this very decree, when brought into the Council of Elders, was diſcuſſed and rejected. If it be ſaid this rejection does not diſprove the intention of the deported members to paſs it, I reply, that only one of the deported members ſpoke, and that member was myſelf; I ſpoke to oppoſe it, and it is recorded upon the journals of the Council, that my ſpeech was ordered to be printed; conſequently it may be found among the archives, immediately after my objections had been heard, that the law was rejected. Where then is this *conſpiracy*, this uniform *language*, *theſe meetings*, *and this agreement* between us? How is it that this reſolution is a crime common both to him who propoſed it to the Council of Five Hundred, and to him who efficaciouſly oppoſed it in the Council of Elders, and that theſe perſons

perſons ſhould be together ſent into baniſhment to Guiana? I am far, however, from ſuppoſing this reſolution in the Council of Five Hundred can be converted into a crime: but even according to thoſe who conſider it as criminal, the orator who oppoſed it, and the Council that, immediately upon that oppoſition, rejected it, deſerve praiſe and commendation.

Thus, anxiouſly employed in this careful, nay ſevere ſearch, for all that can be imputed to me, I find my name in a liſt of royal miniſters, which Charles La Vilheurnois thought proper to deliver in. This mention of me is not, however, taken up by the Repreſentative Bailleul either in conſequence of that general maxim, that we are not to be accuſed for the act of another, or becauſe this could not be laid to my charge as a crime, while ſeven other citizens, who are likewiſe in the liſt, have not ſuffered the leaſt reproach on that account. Two days ago I was preſent at the death of Charles La Vilheurnois, whoſe hut is near my own; but I declare, as he alſo declared himſelf, that at the time of his trial we did not even know each other.

Thus do thoſe clouds vaniſh on which it has been attempted to found a poſthumous accuſation, for ſuch is the name it truly deſerves, ſince half the

deported have already followed each other to the grave at Sinamary, after dragging on a wretched and miſerable life. But this recital of all our ſufferings would but afflict our friends, and fill our enemies with joy: I will ſpare the one that pain, I will deprive the other of that pleaſure.

I will add, however, a ſtatement that may ſhow the chances of mortality at Guiana. To me, indeed, this ſad office peculiarly belongs, ſince I am one of the extremes of the dreadful proportion. Of all things that excite the fears and terrors of mankind, death is the moſt dreaded; the laws have made it the laſt and greateſt in the liſt of puniſhments, and hatred and vengeance ceaſe when their victims are in the grave. For us, deportation is in fact condemnation, without trial, either to a ſure and ſpeedy death, or to a lingering and no leſs certain deſtruction. Of ten members of the Legiſlative Body who have been deported to Guiana, four have eſcaped this almoſt unavoidable doom by flight: they conſigned themſelves to the ocean in a fragile bark, and I am ignorant of their fate; of the ſix that remain, three have died in ſeven months, one of them being the oldeſt of our number, another of a middle age, and the third the youngeſt of us all: of their three ſurvivors, two have

have been dangerouſly ill, and are ſcarcely able to paſs the perilous gulf of convaleſcence. Such are our bills of mortality at Guiana, while at Paris, in the ſame ſpace of time, only one member has died out of the ſeven hundred and fifty who compoſe the Legiſlative Body. Thus the chances of death at Paris and Guiana are as one to three hundred and ſeventy-five, or, to adopt the language of an aſſurance-office, the premium for inſuring the life of a perſon deported without trial would be three hundred and ſeventy-five per cent. for every one per cent. it would have coſt at Paris for an equal ſpace of time.

And as if every thing concurred to prove the fatal accuracy of this calculation, of the two other deported perſons, not members of the Legiſlative Body, one is likewiſe dead, namely, Charles La Vilheurnois. Theſe ravages exceed the moſt deadly peſt, and are at leaſt equal to the puniſhment of cutting off the ears, ſlitting the noſe, and ſhaving the head, inflicted by the Ruſſian laws on certain criminals, and which ſome hireling writers have compared with the *pleaſures* of our ſituation at Guiana.

" Blood has not been ſhed," you ſay (page 46); and is every thing lawful but the effuſion of blood?

blood? Do not men die without the effuſion of blood? Ah! had you heard my unfortunate companions exclaim during their long and cruel ſufferings, "Would to God, that on the 18th Fruc-"tidor my life had been taken from me!"

Let me aſk whether the people of France in their conſcience approve that we ſhould be thus treated without form of trial? Do they approve that men, who are preſumed innocent until ſentence of condemnation, ſhould ſuffer the ſame puniſhment as a criminal tried and condemned for a capital crime; that guilt and innocence ſhould be thus confounded in the opinion of the careleſs and inattentive; that by this confuſion of ideas and ſubverſion of order, the influence of example and all our notions of juſtice ſhould be deſtroyed, and that the dread of like unauthorized puniſhment ſhould henceforward hang over the heads of the moſt irreproachable citizens, as though they were the moſt criminal?

Some of us have, as it were miraculouſly, ſurvived the deſtructive effects of the climate, and the depreſſion of our wretched fate. Thus we afford the national juſtice of our country an opportunity to repair this violation of law and juſtice, of which error has rendered us the victims: and

juſtice

juſtice cannot be granted to us, without in ſome meaſure granting it to the memory of thoſe who have already periſhed. No one has an intereſt in preventing me from being brought to trial. All our friends, and every honeſt man, will ſupport your demand. Even my enemies will ſupport it, my dear Eliza, if they would wiſh to paſs for honeſt men. I am aware, however, that one difficulty may occur. "How can we try a man," they may ſay, "againſt whom there is no accuſation? "and could one be found, and were the accuſed "acquitted, it will be more evident than ever, "that he has been unjuſtly puniſhed." This objection, it is true, is important; but you may reply to it as follows: "When I demand to be "tried, a refuſal would make my innocence the "more ſtriking; and my defence would draw new "ſtrength from the ſilence and dereliction of my "denouncers. If, on the contrary, I am brought "to trial, the conſequence, which is ſtill uncer-"tain, may be fatal. In the one caſe nothing can "palliate their injuſtice, in the other there is "ſome chance of their being ſucceſsful. At the "time of the Report of the 26th Ventôſe, there "exiſted not the ſhadow of a crime, but ſince "that period proofs and indications might be

" found. They may be collected until the mo-
" ment of trial. Who knows but the in-
" dictment may bring ſome offence of ſome
" ſpecies or other home to me?" 'Tis thus they defend themſelves from the reproach of having refuſed me that which cannot be refuſed to any one. Innocent or guilty, they will get rid of an importunate reaſoner, who inceſſantly repeats to them, " I am in your power, and yet you dare
" not try me; becauſe you know I am innocent,
" and it is more convenient for you to wait till
" death ſhall cloſe my lips." Laſtly, ſhould I be acquitted, it will be honourable for them to ſay, " We were his enemies, but were not willing to
" deprive him of the right of legally proving his in-
" nocence."

If ſome of thoſe you may addreſs, forgetting that the duty of doing juſtice to every one is tranſmitted from one magiſtrate to another, ſhould object that our misfortunes are not their act, that it is not their buſineſs to repair the injuries other men may have committed, and that it is not for them to acquit me; tell them I do not demand it of them: I only demand the exerciſe of a right that belongs to all men, and which it is equally important

portant to them and to me to maintain inviolable—I mean the right of trial.

The greateſt misfortune that can happen to a judge is to condemn an innocent man. For ſuch an error, remorſe would embitter his whole life. But this misfortune in thoſe who have condemned me will be repaired, and their conſciences appeaſed, ſhould I but be tried, be the iſſue what it may.

We have ſeen victorious factions in the moment of triumph ſtrike at every one that was within their reach, and the heat of the conflict ſeemed to excuſe their exceſſes. But I can never imagine an eſtabliſhed, conſolidated, and regular government will coldly, and in violation of the laws, prolong the ſufferings of an innocent citizen, and unneceſſarily expoſe him to almoſt certain death.

The power of the Legiſlature is unlimited in whatever does not infringe the ſocial compact, that is, the conſtitution; which alone is paramount to it. But the conſtitution, neither the Legiſlature nor the whole Nation can infringe. If the people are deſirous to change it, they muſt declare their will, and till then this ſupreme law is inviolable. Even when it undergoes a regular change, it can-

not have a retroſpective power over paſt tranſactions and events.

What then ſhall we ſay of that ſingular and ſtriking ſentence which concludes Bailleul's Report: "Let us baniſh thoſe abſurd theories of pretended "principles, and thoſe ſtupid appeals to the con- "ſtitution?" Behold how we muſt proceed, if we ceaſed for a moment to make juſtice our rule of conduct. Having firſt violated the laws, we muſt then, in our own defence, declare thoſe to be ſtupid, who appeal to them; and it naturally follows, that thoſe are wiſe and enlightened men, who violate them: and thus would men be neceſſarily driven into anarchy and confuſion. I doubt not, however, but this doctrine muſt be promulgated during a baniſhment that is accompanied with a refuſal of trial. How indeed can ſuch meaſures be reconciled with the poſitive proviſions of the law? How can they appeal to them, ſo long as *we* are the living inſtances of their violation? and even our death is ſo far from ſoothing our enemies, that it only ſhows in a more ſtriking manner, that the laws are totally impotent and deſtitute of force. What! and is the ſolemn and periodical reading of the Conſtitution, the invocation for its preſervation, but the amuſement of fools?

fools? What then muſt be the language of the enemies of the Conſtitution? Or would it be difficult to draw up an accuſation againſt me, if ſuch an aſſertion could be found in my writings?

But let us, on the contrary, remember the oath we have taken never to violate this fundamental law, and to defend it at the peril of our lives. The people of France have not yet loſt their ancient and habitual veneration for oaths. They contemn thoſe who violate them; they eſteem thoſe who inviolably adhere to them. In the ſimplicity of their hearts and underſtandings, they judge that a conſtitution declared inviolable, and confirmed by an oath, cannot be infringed without the crime of perjury, and have no idea that its obſervance can be mere ſtupidity. Between theſe two manners of thinking, I neceſſarily chooſe that of the people.

One more reflection, and I have done. In a ſtate of nature, a juſt conviction of the violation of the contract renders it null and void; and this takes place between two nations, becauſe there is no ſuperior magiſtrate to guarantee and enforce the performance of the treaty. But within the limits of a ſtate, no contract can be more ſacred or more ſolemn than thoſe by which a nation binds itſelf towards

towards itſelf and its own magiſtrates. Theſe compacts are inviolable, becauſe there is an adequate power to enforce the obedience of the refractory. This caſe has been provided for by the Conſtitution.

I am willing, however, to allow all that ought to be allowed to extraordinary circumſtances, to unforeſeen events, or even to force. I will ſuppoſe the danger of the Directory ſo great, that they imagined themſelves in a ſtate of nature with regard to the real or reputed faction, and therefore authorized, for their own preſervation, to violate the ſocial compact. If ſo, either force has reſtored the equilibrium, or that equilibrium is not yet reſtored. If the latter be the fact, we are ſtill in a ſtate of anarchy; and the friends of order being ſurrounded with diſcord, muſt ſubmit to bear the yoke of factions that will ſucceſſively triumph in their turn. But this is not the real ſtate of things. The body politic is organized, in full activity, and enjoys the perfect vigour of exiſtence. But it is evident this body can only be preſerved by juſtice; and therefore it is the duty of the magiſtrates to deliver me without delay to the tribunals, and thus to repair the injury the Conſtitution has received. If I am innocent, my puniſhment ought to ceaſe;

if guilty, yet that punishment is a real oppression until it shall be pronounced and sanctioned by my judges. An omnipotent government ought, if they wish to maintain a character of justice, immediately to bring me to trial. This would even be the duty of a weak and falling government: for it could only recover its strength by clinging to the statue of Justice. The path of those who are at the head of affairs in a powerful but tottering empire, sinking beneath the most violent shocks, is pointed out by reason. The first step to recover from the crisis of destruction leads to the temple of Justice. If there are citizens accused of any crime, deliver them to the tribunals. This vigorous measure will reanimate the hope of all good citizens, keep the factious under due restraint, consolidate the national credit, please every honest man, and satisfy the whole people of France; while punishments without trial do but fill the citizens with useless terror, and proclaim to all the world the weakness of an expiring government.

I cannot better confirm the foregoing reflections than by quoting the striking language of the Tribunal of Appeal, in a sentence pronounced by them on the 25th Pluviôse last; and I demand that the same words be applied to my own case. "The

"noblest

" nobleſt uſe," ſay they, " which a government " can make of the powers entruſted to it by the " people, is to repreſs the public functionaries who " ſhall violate the forms eſtabliſhed for the pre- " ſervation of liberty."

I am fond alſo of recalling to mind that important maxim with which Bailleul's Report concludes: " To have a right to be ſevere, we muſt " firſt be juſt."

Endeavour, my dear Eliza, endeavour to have me extricated by a trial from this dreadful ſolitude, in which the death of my companions has left me, and thus put an end to the torments I have endured for theſe twelve months paſt. Fear not that your zeal can be fatal to me, or that my boldneſs ſhould be puniſhed by an increaſe of rigour. The fortitude and conſtancy of an oppreſſed and innocent man, who only demands to be tried with ſeverity, will ſoon attract the attention and excite the intereſt of the public. To ſhield me from an imaginary and at leaſt a doubtful evil, your affection would expoſe me to certain death; and you yourſelf would fall a victim to your ſorrows. Oh, endeavour to enable me, once more before I die, to behold my dear old mother of fourſcore, and you and our child, and our native country.

(Signed) BARBE-MARBOIS.

APPEN-

APPENDIX.

No. I.

IN THE NAME OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC.

Inſtructions given by the Special Agent of the Executive Directory in French Guiana to Citizen Boucher, Commiſſary of War, relative to the Perſons deported, in conformity to the Law of the 19th Fructidor, in the Year V.

Art. I.

CITIZEN Boucher, Commiſſary of War, who is to accompany the deported perſons to Sinamary, in execution of the law of the 19th Fructidor, ſhall, on the 6th of this month, go on board of the ſhip appointed to convey them.

II. At the time of their diſembarkation at Sinamary, he ſhall accompany them to the place prepared for their reception, and proceed, together with the Commandant of that ſtation, and the Engineer Prévoſt, to ſee them properly diſpoſed of.

III. He ſhall take care that the effects ſent for their uſe to the keeper of the ſtores, be equally diſtributed among them, and take a receipt for the ſame.

IV. He ſhall attend at the diſtribution which Citizen Prévoſt is authorized to make to the deported, of an acre

of land each, as an uſufruct out of the unoccupied lands neareſt to their reſidence *.

V. Should any of the deported expreſs a deſire to be ſituated near each other in the ſettlements prepared for them, he ſhall accede to their requeſt.

VI. Should one or more of the deported wiſh to hire, at their own expenſe, houſes or apartments for their greater accommodation, he ſhall conſent thereto, provided theſe apartments be within the town of Sinamary, and not elſewhere.

VII. Citizen Boucher ſhall declare to all the deported together, that their reſidence at Sinamary, although conformable to the intentions of the government, is, however, merely proviſionary †; that during the whole of their ſtay they muſt never paſs the ſea to the northward; the left bank of the Kourou to the eaſtward; and two days and a half's journey to the ſouthward; or to the right bank of the Iracombo to the weſtward; but they may go at their own expenſe as far as its mouth, only to communicate with the French town, and the Indian village bearing the ſame name with that river.

That their excurſions muſt always be ſo regulated, that they may every Quintidi and Decadi be at their reſpective reſidences from ten to eleven in the forenoon, to receive the viſit of the Commandant of the Poſt, who is to tranſmit an account of their proceedings ‡.

* This conceſſion was abſolutely nugatory and without effect, as the reſidence of the deported at Sinamary was but proviſionary, and they were not allowed to have any labourers.

† Thus was their future condition left in total uncertainty, it being only declared that it depended ſolely on the arbitrary will of the Agent.

‡ This reſtriction rendered the permiſſion to traverſe the extent of country aſſigned, and which has been ſo much boaſted in France, as if they enjoyed perfect liberty, totally null and uſeleſs.

That

That for their own ſecurity they ſhould beware not to go to any diſtance without guides.

That the ſtore-keeper of the ſtation ſhall furniſh each of them with ſailors' allowance till further orders.

That the Commiſſary ſhall continue to furniſh them with the requiſite clothing upon demand.

That in caſe of ſickneſs they ſhall be attended by the ſurgeon of the ſtation, either at the military hoſpital or at their own homes, but in the latter caſe at their own particular expenſe.

That no inſtruments of huſbandry, fiſhing-tackle, or hunting accoutrements, ſhall be ſupplied them by the Republic till they are put in poſſeſſion of the ground ultimately deſigned for their uſe.

That henceforward, to procure theſe articles, as well as all others they may deſire, whether for uſe or pleaſure, they muſt apply directly to the Commiſſary.

That as to their correſpondence both with the capital of the colony and abroad, they may ſend their letters under ſeal to the Commandant of the Poſt, under whatever addreſſes and covers they may think proper, and the ſame ſhall be forwarded.

VIII. Citizen Boucher is authorized to read to the deported, articles IV. V. VI. VII. and VIII. of theſe preſents, and even to furniſh copies thereof to thoſe who ſhall deſire them.

IX. Before quitting Sinamary he ſhall procure ſufficient documents of the ſteps he ſhall have taken in virtue of theſe inſtructions.

If he ſhould foreſee that he will be obliged to continue in that diſtrict two whole days after his diſembarkation, he ſhall the next day inform the Commandant of the ſame, that the ſchooner may be forthwith ſent back, together with the perſons it is to convey; in that caſe Citizen

Boucher ſhall return to Cayenne by land, which he ſhall perform with the leaſt delay poſſible.

At Cayenne, the 4th Frimaire, in the year VI. of the Republic.

(Signed) JEANNET.

No. II.

Arrêté of the Special Agent of the Executive Directory.

Being informed by the diſpatches of the Miniſter of Marine and of the Colonies, under date of 11th Pluviôſe, and 25th Ventôſe laſt, that it is the intention of the Directory, that the deported may form agricultural and commercial eſtabliſhments in all parts of Guiana, except the capital of the colony and the iſland of Cayenne, orders as follows:

Art. I. Every deported perſon who ſhall deſire to form an agricultural or commercial eſtabliſhment in any part of the colony not excepted by the Executive Directory, ſhall be required to preſent a demand to that effect to the Departmental Adminiſtration, through the medium of the Commandant in Chief, accompanied with a certificate from a land or houſeholder, viewed by the Municipality of the diſtrict where the ſaid land or houſeholder reſides, proving that the demandant is in treaty for the purchaſe or hire of a plantation or houſe, and that he has ſufficient means to cultivate the ſaid plantation, or to carry on trade.

II. The Departmental Adminiſtration ſhall aſcertain the fact ſet forth in the certificate which accompanies the demand, which demand they ſhall forthwith forward, together with their opinion and the grounds thereof, to the Agent of the Executive Directory, that he may thereupon proceed to determine upon the whole, in ſuch manner as ſhall ſeem fit.

The

The Departmental Adminiſtration and the Commandant in Chief are charged, each in their reſpective departments, to put in force this preſent arrêté, which ſhall be printed and poſted up.

Ordered at the national reſidence of the Agent of the Executive Directory at Cayenne, this 30th Prairial, in the year VI. of the French Republic, one and indiviſible.

(Signed) JEANNET.

By the Agent of the Executive Directory,
(Signed) EDME MAUDUIT,
Secretary-general to the Agent.

Note—It is evident that this arrêté was a mere voluntary conceſſion, in the nature of an indulgence, ſince it only concerned thoſe of the deported, who might deſire to form eſtabliſhments.

No. III.

IN THE NAME OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC.

The Special Agent of the Executive Directory in French Guiana, having examined the Report of the Commiſſary, under date of the 8th of this month, from which it appears, the expenſes occaſioned by the deported, from the 22d Brumaire to the 30th Floréal laſt, amount to 22,022 fr. 5 cents, orders as follows:—

Art. I. From this time forth till the 22d Brumaire of the year VII. nothing ſhall be furniſhed to the deported now at Sinamary, but their lodging; a ſailor's allowance per day, and their attendance at the military hoſpital and maritime ports, or in caſe of ſickneſs.

II.

II. There ſhall however be held, at the diſpoſition of the five deported perſons, who have received leſs than 600 franks in ſtores of the Republic, a ſum of 821 franks 15 cents, which ſhall be divided among them in the proportion of what they have already received.

III. The regulations of Art. I. are extended to Billaud.

IV. All former regulations contrary hereto are revoked.

The Chief of Adminiſtration acting in the capacity of Commiſſary, is charged with the execution of the preſent Arrêté.

Ordered at the national reſidence of the Agent of the Executive Directory, this 10th Prairial, in the year VI. of the French Republic, one and indiviſible.

(Signed) JEANNET.

By the Agent of the Directory,

(Signed) EDME MAUDUIT,

Secretary-general to the Agent.

No. IV.

Extract of a Letter to the Commiſſary, from the Agent of the Executive Directory, 9th Fructidor, in the year VII.

You will underſtand with the Commandant in Chief, ſo as to notify to the aforeſaid individuals (the deported at Sinamary), that if, previous to the 25th of this month, they do not ſhow that they are likely to ſettle themſelves, on their own account, in Guiana, they ſhall then be conducted to Conanama by the armed force, and aſſimilated with the deported who are reſident there; and the ſame ſhall be executed accordingly.

In conſequence of this regulation it ſhould ſeem, that every

every expenſe, on account of the deported at Sinamary, ought to ceaſe on the 1ſt Vendémiaire next.

(Signed) JEANNET DADIN.

A true Copy.

(Signed) Commandant in Chief,
DESVIEUX.

The Chief of Adminiſtration of the Marine,
ROUTTAGEN.

Note—The Commiſſary, in his Letter to the Store-keeper, added, that in conſequence of this meaſure, the Commandant ſhould remove his quarters back again to the old Preſbytery, and all extra rent cauſed by the reſidence of the deported at Sinamary, would alſo ceaſe on the 1ſt Vendémiaire.

It muſt be obſerved, that the Commandant had then reſided above two months at the old Preſbytery.

By theſe contradictions, and more particularly by the harſh ſtyle of this laſt letter, it may be perceived to how arbitrary a power the deported are ſubject.

The number of deaths is accurately compared with the Extracts and Statements ſent to the Miniſter of Marine.

THE END.

Lately publiſhed, Price 4s.

Uniformly printed with this Volume,

NARRATIVE of the DEPORTATION to CAYENNE, of Barthélemy, Pichegru, Willot, Marbois, La Rue, Ramel, &c. &c. in conſequence of the Revolution of the 18th Fructidor (September 4, 1797). Containing a Variety of important Facts, relative to that Revolution, and to the Voyage, Reſidence and Eſcape of Barthélemy, Pichegru, &c. &c.

FROM THE FRENCH OF

GENERAL RAMEL,

COMMANDANT OF THE LEGISLATIVE BODY GUARD.

Et quorum pars magna fui!

"THE deſcription of ſufferings does not any where appear to be exaggerated, nor is it related in a ſtrain of deſpondency; yet it is not on that account the leſs affecting. The language is plain, manly, and temperate; and the Narrative, unlike the generality of Publications reſpecting the late events in France, is not loaded with declamation. Altogether, therefore, it ſtrikes an irreſiſtible and deadly blow at the reputation of thoſe who were the cauſe of ſuch atrocities." *Monthly Review, Oct.*

"Many important incidents are related in this Narrative, and much light is thrown on the characters of individuals, whoſe ſtation and whoſe crimes have excited the curioſity of the world. The fate and ſufferings of theſe unfortunate individuals, are here related in warm and grateful terms, by the writer of this performance; which is one of thoſe documents, that will be reſorted to by the future Hiſtorian. There is, indeed, an unadorned plainneſs and ſimplicity throughout, which excites confidence and juſtifies belief." *Britiſh Critic, October.*

"This Narrative contains many intereſting Anecdotes, and many ſtrong facts; all of which tend to place the conduct of the French uſurpers and their deteſtable agents, at home and abroad, in the moſt odious point of view."

Anti-Jacobin Review.

"This is a very curious, circumſtantial, and, we have no doubt, an accurate ſtatement of the ſufferings of thoſe men, who, without trial or production of evidence, were tranſported to a peſtilential climate, expoſed to a burning ſun, and deprived of every accommodation, there to ſuffer the greateſt indignities from unfeeling cruelty, evidently with a view to their being murdered by inches."

European Magazine, July.

Printed by S. GOSNELL, Little Queen Street, Holborn.

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Roberts sculp

View of the Missionary House in Paraguay, given to the Author by M. Duclous

Gregory del.

Roberts sc.

Gregory del. Roberts Sculp.

View of a Carretan as drawn in Paraguay Spanish South America

View of the Capture of the Missionary Ship Duff, by the French Privateer Le Grand Buonaparte, of 22 Guns, off Cape Frio, in the South Seas, on the Night of 19 February, 1799.

Engraved for Gregory's Missionary Journal.

A

Visible Display of Divine Providence;

OR, THE

JOURNAL

OF A

CAPTURED MISSIONARY,

DESIGNATED TO THE

SOUTHERN PACIFIC OCEAN,

IN THE

SECOND VOYAGE

OF

THE SHIP DUFF,

COMMANDED BY

CAPTAIN THOMAS ROBSON,

CAPTURED BY

LE GRAND BUONAPARTE, OFF CAPE FRIO;

INCLUDING

Every remarkable Occurrence which took place on board the Ships *Duff*, *Le Grand Buonaparte*, *De Pacquatio*, *Postillibio*, *De Amerique*, *Amazona*, and *Meduza*, and in the Province of *Paraguay*, Spanish South America; and at *Portugal*, on the return home, in the Years 1798 and 1799.

BY WILLIAM GREGORY,

ONE OF THE MISSIONARIES.

With Extracts compiled from the Journals of Messrs. Rev. Peter Levesque, Rev. John Hill, James Jones, John Levesque, and other Missionaries captured in the Duff.

"Why should the wonders he hath wrought,
"Be lost in silence, and forgot." WATTS.

LONDON:

Printed by T. Gillet, Salisbury-square, for, and Sold by the Author, No. 100, Whitehorse-street, Ratcliffe-Cross; OGLE, Turnstile; BUTTON and SYMMONDS, Paternoster-Row, London; and by all Booksellers and Newscarriers in the three Kingdoms.

[*Entered at Stationers Hall.*]

PREFACE.

THE leadings of Divine Providence with mortal men, are ſtriking marks of that benevolence and care manifeſted towards his creatures, which ought in meditation to warm the heart with ſenſations of gratitude and love.

The Scriptures abound with incomparable narratives, in which are diſplayed ſuch inſtances of the amazing power of God; and his concern for, and love to his people, as may juſtly excite wonder and praiſe, and afford ground for encouragement, to truſt and confide in a God of ſuch matchleſs power, unparalelled goodneſs and mercy, which has followed the ſons and daughters of Adam in every age.

The myſterious and dark paths of Providence in afflictive diſpenſations, have frequently ſtaggered ſome of the wiſeſt and holieſt of men, who have ſcarcely been able to unfold the declaration of an inſpired Apoſtle, "*That tribulation, diſtreſs, perſecution, famine, nakedneſs, peril, and the ſword; in all theſe things they were more than conquerors; and that all things worked together for good!*" "*I ſhall one day periſh by the hand of Saul,*" has been the declaration of one; "*All theſe things are againſt me.*" that of another; but "*mark the perfect man, and behold the upright, for the end of that man is peace.*"

When expectations are fruſtrated, and delightful proſpects beclouded, then is the ſeaſon to exerciſe faith. Abraham muſt give up a beloved Iſaac for a ſacrifice, and ſubmiſſively ſay, "*thy will be done.*" The good old patriarch, Jacob, with the bowels of a tender parent, muſt have felt at the idea of the loſs of any child by ſo cruel a ſtroke, as *an evil beaſt hath devoured him.* But this muſt be not only a ſon, but a beloved one, and his aged glimmering ſight muſt be called to witneſs the beautiful coat exhibited to his view ſtreaming in blood: he is ſcarcely recovered this painful ſcene, when another is wrenched from his arms and heart; yet *the trial of their faith was much more precious than gold.*

To ſurvey all the way in which the the Lord hath led us, is the injunction of God himſelf, who declares, that "*whoſo is wiſe, and will obſerve theſe things, even they ſhall underſtand the loving kindneſs of the Lord.*" And if this be a duty incumbent on individuals, ſurely that which is connected with the intereſt of the Meſſiah's kingdom in the world, the Church univerſal and inſtruction to our fellow men, ought not to be buried in ſilence and oblivion.

Whatever imperfections may be diſcovered in the manner in which the following ſheets are penned, I humbly hope the narrative will be found intereſting, entertaining, and uſeful to the friends of humanity, the reſearchers in foreign climes, the Miſſionary Society, and the friends of Evangelical Religion in every quarter of the globe.

The

The fruſtrated Miſſion to the Southern Iſles, being ſo big with expectation, and pregnant with events, induced many on my arrival in my native country, to requeſt my conſent for this Journal to be printed; but as it was expected, that from the Miſſionary Directors would have flowed all neceſſary information, I pledged myſelf not to publiſh till their determination was fully known.

Three months having elapſed from the time of my arrival, and not knowing fully the intention of the Directors on the ſubject, I requeſted ſuch information as to be enabled to anſwer the repeated applications, when I received the following: "That the deſign of "publiſhing the voyage is wholly relinquiſhed, and "you are not forbidden to publiſh in any way you "think proper."

Not having previouſly corrected a ſingle line of my manuſcript, written abroad, I have to lament that neceſſity has compelled me to hurry it through the preſs, which with my incompetency of literature as an Editor, I hope will claim ſome indulgence for all the imperfections which will be diſcovered in the work, as not to my knowledge will any thing be found detrimental to philanthropy, Miſſionary efforts, or experimental Religion.

The encouragement this work has received, having exceeded my moſt ſanguine expectations, and the reſpectable ſanction already given, compels me with gratitude to acknowledge the ſame, while it lays a foundation

foundation for a hope that its utility may be further extended.

With a desire to reveal a *Visible Display of Divine Providence*, and expand the knowledge and interest of a cause yet the object of my desire, I humbly claim permission to introduce this work into the hands of the Public and Friends of the Missionary cause, entreating the Author of every Mercy to bless the same to the information, comfort, and consolation of many, which is the prayer of a captured Missionary,

WILLIAM GREGORY.

No. 100, *White-Horse-Street*,
Ratcliffe, *May* 8*th*, 1800.

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JOURNAL

OF A

CAPTURED MISSIONARY,

&c. &c.

CHAP. I.

Particulars, relative to the Sailing of the Duff, on the Second Miſſion, till her Capture off Cape Frio.

THE Miſſionary Society, with that perſeverance and uniformity of conduct, which become the children of Zion, anxious for the extenſion of the kingdom of Meſſias, were not ſatisfied with having accompliſhed one voyage to the Southern Iſles, but unanimouſly reſolved to undertake another.

Accordingly, on Tueſday, Nov. 20th, 1798, the Duff dropt down the river on her way to Portſmouth, where ſhe arrived with the unmarried Brethren, and the Rev. Mr. Wilks, on Saturday, the 8th of December.

Thurſday, Dec. 13th. I, with the greateſt part of the Miſſionaries, left the ſhore, and embarked in the Duff; and on the following evening, all our wives and children, reached the ſhip in a pilot boat. But as it was dark, and the wind blew freſh, which cauſed the ſea to run rather high for females, they found it ſomewhat difficult to get on board. A ſignal from the Commodore, for ſailing in the morning, was the cauſe of their embarkation in ſuch weather.

MISSIONARIES ON BOARD THE DUFF.

John Beattie, wife and child,	From Edinburgh.
Clark Bentom,	London.
Spence Broughton,	Ditto.
Joſeph Cooper,	Rotherham.
Thomas Fitzgibbon,	Hackney.
Rev. W. Gregory, wife and 3 children,	London.
George Greig, and wife,	Edinburgh.
John Guard,	Falmouth.
W. Hawkins, wife and daughter,	Ditto.
William Hayward,	London.
Rev. John Hill and wife,	Edinburgh.
Robert Hughes and wife,	London.
John Jerrard,	Ipſwich.
James Jones, wife and 2 children,	London.
John Leveſque and wife,	Ditto.
Rev. Peter Leveſque and wife,	Ditto.
John Macdonald,	Perth.
Daniel Miller,	Edinburgh.
John Mitchell,	Manchester.
Griffith Parry,	London.
James Reed,	Ditto.

James

James Smith,	From London.
Joſeph Smith,	Ditto.
William Soddy,	Ditto.
Samuel Turner,	Goſport.
William Watters,	London.
James Wilſon,	Ditto.
Rev. Joſeph Lambert Vardy and wife,	Bury St. Edmond's.
John Youl,	London.

Rev. WILLIAM HOWELL, of Knareſborough, SUPERINTENDANT of the Miſſion.

Saturday, 15th. The wind ſhifted, a circumſtance which occaſioned our detention, and proved very favourable, as the accommodations were made more comfortable.

Sunday, 16th. A meeting, for prayers, was held, morning and evening, and for preaching twice. Mr. Wilks preached in the morning, from 2. Tim. ii. 15. "Study to ſhew thyſelf approved;" and Brother Macdonald in the afternoon.

Wedneſday, 19th. 3 P. M. Having weighed anchor, and dropt down to St. Helen's, we again brought up with the reſt of the fleet, and bade adieu to Mr. Wilks, and other friends.

Thurſday, 20th. Again, we weighed anchor, and, with a fair wind, ſailed under the convoy of the Amphion frigate. At 11. A. M. the Brethren met on the quarter-deck, and ſung the hymn, "*Jeſus at thy command*;" after which, Mr. Howell engaged in prayer.

Friday, 21ſt. The wind ſhifting againſt u , and

blowing hard, the whole fleet was compelled to put back into Portland Roads.

Sunday, 23d. This morning, the wind was favourable. At day-light the signal for sailing being hoisted, we all got under way, with a fine breeze from the east. Mr. Howell, who had been on shore, returned, accompanied by the Rev. Mr. Lamb, of Weymouth; who, after having prayed, departed. At 10 A. M. the Brethren met on the quarter-deck, when Mr. Howell preached from Psalm lxxxiv. 11. "For the Lord God is a Sun." At half past two, they again assembled; when the Author spoke from Psalm xxix. 10. 11. "The Lord sitteth upon the floods; yea, the Lord sitteth King for ever; the Lord will give strength to his people; the Lord will bless his people with peace." By this time we had lost sight of land.

Tuesday, 25th. Was a dark Christmas to most of us, the wind blew hard, the sea ran high; and the greatest part of us were much indisposed. The hatches were battened down, and we shipped several seas.

Thursday, 27th. The gale since its commencement had regularly increased, and the sea now run so high, that all communication between the Missionaries was stopped. Notwithstanding the hatches were battened down, we shipped more water than before; so that most of the articles between decks, particularly those belonging to Brother Jones and me, in our cabins, were set afloat; as they were opposite the main hatch-way. We lay to, with our top-gallant-

mast

maſt ſtruck, ſhrouds laſhed, and yards pointed to the wind. This was a night much to be remembered by our children and us. The articles between decks, rolling from ſide to ſide, and few of us able to keep our places. The mountainous billows beat the ſhip with that violence, that we often imagined ſhe had ſtruck againſt a rock, which made her tremble from ſtem to ſtern. One ſea ran ſo high, that it went over our mizen-maſt head, and a vaſt quantity of water forced its way down into the cabin.

In the night, the laſhing of my cot gave way, in my cabin, ſo that my wife and I were obliged to hold by the opening of the ſhip, to prevent our rolling from ſide to ſide. During this time, the water frequently came pouring upon us. One ſea went over all the children, which occaſioned a general outcry, but laſted only a ſhort time; indeed they were much quieter than it could have been reaſonably expected, in ſuch a ſituation. At midnight a ſolemn ſilence prevailed for ſome time, which was interrupted only by the roaring of the ſea, the falling, and breaking of the things between decks; at length the ſilence gave way to the expreſſion of ſome fears, reſpecting the danger of the ſhip; theſe alarms, however, ſoon ſubſided. Few of us, I truſt, were ſtrangers to that declaration of our God, Job, xxviii. 9. "He bindeth the floods from overflowing." Happy are they who are enabled to lay in his hand, "who holdeth the winds in his fiſts," and "meaſureth the waters in the

hollow of his hand." I lay feeling the import of theſe ſcriptures, and looked for their fulfilment, more than do thoſe who watch for the morning. My wife, to my ſurprize, was even better than I. That which chiefly claimed my attention was, that although ſhe fainted when in England, on hearing the noiſe of the wind, at her fire ſide, where ſhe was in ſafety, yet now, though ſhe felt ſo much of its power ſhe fainted not. Brother Leveſque and Hughes were in the evening able to afford ſome aſſiſtance.

Friday, 28th. This morning was hailed with pleaſure by us all. The wind having abated, the hatches were unbattened, and once more we ſaw the light of day. Captain Robſon came down in the morning, and expreſſed his joy at ſeeing us all alive, declaring, that he felt more in the laſt trying night than he did all the two years voyage before. Several of us, who were much indiſpoſed, with aſſiſtance, were got upon deck, while things were put to rights below. Here it may be obſerved, that all who were able, this morning, attended public prayer; for, in conſequence of the gale, and indiſpoſition, it had been omitted ſince Tueſday.

Saturday 29th. Moſt of us were upon deck this day, and gave public thanks to the Lord for our deliverance. As I ſat upon the quarter-deck, I ſaw floating upon the mighty deep, the body of one of my fellow creatures, with his hat at a ſmall diſtance. The Lord hath wonderfully preſerved us all; and why hath

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he preſerved me, was the language of my heart. We perceived this day that two of the fleet were driven away by the gale, but whither we knew not.

Sunday 30th. We attended to our worſhip this day, agreeably to the plan adopted, which was, that on Sunday there ſhould be a prayer meeting at ſix o'clock, in the morning and evening; preaching morning and afternoon; preaching alſo on Tueſday and Friday evenings; public prayer every morning and evening. Having proceeded thus far, I ſhall omit in future ſaying much relative to our religious ſervices. Indeed, it is propoſed to give a very conciſe account of the voyage of the Duff, previouſly to her capture, that there may be greater ſcope for the relation of thoſe incidents, which, in the narrative, are peculiarly intereſting. The reader will, therefore, take it for granted, that henceforth I ſhall confine myſelf to thoſe circumſtances, which are likely to prove moſt acceptable.

Monday 31ſt. We ſaw a ſtrange ſail which our convoy chaſed, but ſhe proved to be a friend.

JANUARY 1ſt, 1799.

I perceived myſelf not only entering upon a new year, but alſo engaged in a new work; I could adopt the language of St. Paul, "Who is ſufficient for theſe things?"

2d. Laſt night we loſt our convoy, and none of the fleet were in ſight. In the evening we held a prayer

meeting, and with prayer and ſupplication committed ourſelves to the protection of the God of Heaven.

3d. This morning a ſtrange ſail appeared in ſight on our lee bow, which ſoon hoiſted her enſign and pendant, and bore down upon us. A degree of alarm took place leſt ſhe ſhould be a French privateer. At half paſt 11 A. M. ſhe came cloſe under our ſtern and hailed us; when we found that ſhe was an American armed brig of 14 guns, well manned; they informed us that they came from Philadelphia, and were bound to Leghorn. In Lat. 35° 50′ N. Long. 15° 30′ W.

5th. We ſaw the Iſland of Madeira, the wind blowing ſtrong, but fair, and the ſhip going at the rate of two hundred miles in twenty-four hours.

6th. As this was the firſt Sunday in the month, we ſhould have celebrated the Lord's Supper, but on account of the indiſpoſition of ſeveral on board, and the ſea running high, it was poſtponed till next Lord's day.

7th. We ſaw the Iſland of Palma, which is exceedingly high; the clouds, however, prevented us from perceiving its ſummits.

In the evening, as it was the firſt Monday in the month, the Miſſionary prayer meeting was held.

8th. This day, at a general meeting of all the Miſſionaries, ſome new regulations were adopted, in regard to our temporal ſupplies.

10th. About 5 P. M. we croſſed the Tropic, and

and entered the Torrid Zone, with a favourable breeze.

11th. About 7 A. M. a ſtrange ſail appeared on our ſtarboard beam; we at firſt ſuppoſed her bearing down upon us, but ſhe kept her courſe, and we continued ours. N. Lat. 21° 29′.

13th. This was a pleaſant day, and very warm. I felt myſelf more ſtrengthened both in body and mind, than I had experienced ſince our departure from England. After ſervice in the afternoon, the Lord's Supper was adminiſtered on the quarter deck, when, I believe, moſt of us found it a good opportunity.

14th. We enjoyed the view of St. Anthona and St. Vincent, two of the Cape de Verd Iſlands. Were abreaſt of them about noon. At that time the clouds ſurrounding and concealing their ſummits, and the beams of the ſun being uncommonly brilliant, an opportunity was given of contemplating a ſtriking contraſt between the light and ſhade, which were repreſented in this beautiful ſcene, ſo that the picture, on the whole, formed at once a ſolemn and majeſtic ſight.

16th. At day break we obſerved another ſtrange ſail bearing down upon us. The Captain called up all the ſingle brethren, to aſſiſt in ſetting all poſſible ſail, being apprehenſive that ſhe might prove an enemy. The married Miſſionaries heard the noiſe on deck, but were not ſummoned, leſt it ſhould alarm the females; nevertheleſs, we ſoon came on deck, and our fears were happily diſperſed on finding that

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ſhe hoiſted all the ſail ſhe could carry, and bore away from us, while we purſued our courſe.

21ſt. About 5 P. M. a ſudden ſquall of wind and rain came on, at the time we were about to take ſome refreſhment. In the ſquall, we carried away our foretop gallant ſtudſail yard. The ſquall ceaſed by 7 o'clock.

22d. At a general meeting, this day, it was agreed, that a public journal ſhould be kept open to all the brethren, to be ſent to the Directors of the Society at London; and that on Tueſday next, we ſhould take into conſideration the propriety of arranging the plan of our deſignation to the ſeveral iſlands of the South Seas. About half paſt 10 P. M. we croſſed the Equator, and entered the ſouthern hemiſphere with a fine breeze.

25th. Early this morning we deſcried the coaſt of South America upon our lee bow. Land has always been pleaſant to the ſight; but experience has taught many, that it is not always profitable. The land now ſeen was Cape St. Roque, and when we ſounded about 9 A. M. we found ſcarcely ſeven fathoms water, although I ſuppoſe we were about four miles from land: our Captain inſtantly put about, and ſteered a courſe directly oppoſite; but the wind and a ſtrong current were much againſt us, which rendered it extremely painful to moſt on board. After a ſurvey from the maſt head, the ſhoals were diſcovered.

28th.

28th. This day we found that we had been driven back 200 miles by the wind and current. In endeavouring to clear this coaſt, many of us were diſcouraged, which our Captain perceiving, after prayer thi evening, he embraced the opportunity of inſpiring us with becoming fortitude by his ſeaſonable arguments. Then our united ſupplications were preſented at the throne of grace, for a favourable gale, to convey us from this dangerous coaſt to the deſired haven.

29th. The wind was rather more favourable, and we began to take courage. At 10 A. M. we aſſembled to arrange the plan for our diſtribution, ſhould the Lord, in his all-wiſe providence, permit us to reach the deſtined ſhores.

The inſtructions of the Directors were read; in which it was recommended, that we ſhould divide in the following manner, viz.

Four married and ſix ſingle brethren to go to Tongataboo.

Three married and three ſingle to the Marqueſas.

Three married and three ſingle to Otaheite and Ulietea.

Four ſingle to the Navigators Iſlands.

Two ſingle to the Fegees, and

Two ſingle, if any remained, to the Vavao.

This part of the inſtructions more particularly claimed our attention this day; and after mature deliberation it was agreed, that if Providence ſhould be

be propitious to us, by pointing out the propriety and practicability of our plan, on our arrival we ſhould divide as follows:

TONGATABOO.

Rev. Peter Leveſque, and wife.
John Leveſque, and wife.
James Jones, wife and two children.
Robert Hughes, and wife.
James Reid.
William Soddy.
Griffith Parry.
Spence Broughton.
John Youl.

MARQUESAS.

Rev. John Hill, and wife.
John Beatie, wife and one child.
George Grieg, and wife.
Thomas Fitzgibbon.
John Macdonald.

OTAHEITE, OR THE NEIGHBOURING ISLANDS.

Rev. Joſeph L. Vardy, and wife.
Rev. William Gregory, wife and three children.
Walter Hawkins, wife and daughter.
Samuel Turner, M. D.
John Guard.
James Smith.

NAVIGATORS ISLANDS.

Joſeph Cooper.
Clark Bentom.

John

John Jerrard.
Joſeph Smith.
James Hayward.

FEGEES.

James Mitchell.
Charles Wilſon.

UNSETTLED.

William Watters.
Daniel Miller.

After prayer the meeting was diſſolved, and each member appeared ſatisfied with the above arrangement.

30th. We have to record, as another day of trial, that at 6 A. M. we ſaw two ſtrange ſails, a ſhip of war, and a ſchooner, which we ſuppoſed to be her prize. The ſchooner was ſent off, and the ſhip gave us chaſe. On perceiving this we were extremely alarmed, as her ſituation gave us reaſon to ſuppoſe, that ſhe would ſpeedily overtake us. Captain Robſon manifeſted the greateſt anxiety on the occaſion, and immediately put about the ſhip, crouded all the ſail he poſſibly could, placed extra ropes, where it was ſuppoſed they would be neceſſary, as it blew hard; while we were placed ſo as to trim the ſhip, that we might eſcape captivity. We here performed our religious ſervice, at 7 o'clock, and beheld our adverſary, purſuing hard after us. Some ſuppoſing that ſhe gained upon us, a converſation took place, on the propriety of contending with her, if ſhe overtook us; and we thought, that we were in a capacity to preſerve our ſhip from capture, opi-

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nions differed upon this ſubject —The Captain, Officers, and ſeamen, with ſome of the Miſſionaries, thought it was our duty to engage her, if there was a probability of ſaving the ſhip. Mr. Howe and the reſt, thought otherwiſe. However, the guns were got ready; while we had recourſe to ſpiritual means of protection. For the purpoſes of prayer, we aſſembled at 11 A. M. as we yet ſaw our enemy aſtern; the means, which were employed to accelerate our progreſs, anſwered the deſired end, and ſhe could not overtake us. Hope and fear alternately took poſſeſſion of our minds, and many an anxious look was caſt behind on our purſuer. About 3 P. M. however, we had the unſpeakable ſatisfaction of ſeeing her abandon the chaſe, and leave us in peace and tranquility to continue our voyage. The moment ſhe gave up the purſuit we aſſembled on the quarter-deck, and returned public thanks to the Lord, for this ſeaſonable interpoſition of his providence.

FEBRUARY 1ſt.

The wind and current continued the ſame as for ſome days paſt. We had ſailed upwards of 1000 miles ſince laſt Friday, and yet we were ſtill almoſt 200, diſtant from our deſtined port. This reminded me of the journey of Iſrael, towards the promiſed land of Canaan, and we were ready to be diſcouraged, and faint, "on account of the way."

3d. We beheld ourſelves near the coaſt, which we found a difficult matter to clear; ſome were of opi-

nion,

nion, that it ſeemed to be the mind and will of the Lord, that we ſhould go no farther, but land. It ſeemed a very deſolate place, no inhabitants could be fully diſtinguiſhed; but almoſt every night, when we were tacking about, we perceived that they lighted fires, which we conſidered as ſignals for us to land. The ſoil appeared hot burning ſand; yet, at ſome diſtance from the ſhore, it was covered with trees, ſome of which are large, and I have no doubt but it is fruitful. Some of us would have willingly gone on ſhore, but our ſituation at the time would not admit of it. This ſtep might alſo have been attended with much danger from the inhabitants.

4th. Four large fires were more viſible this night, than any had been before.

7th. The land was yet within ſight; in the evening ſome ſmall canoes made their appearance, near the ſhore, but none offered to come off; being, very probably, afraid of us.

10th. This day a fine breeze ſprung up, more in our favour, and we went on our way, rejoicing.

13th. The ſun was nearly vertical in lat. 12° 32′ ſouth.

18th. We caught ſix large dolphins, which were a very acceptable addition to our bill of fare, as they were the firſt fiſh which we had caught during the voyage, two flying-fiſh excepted, which flew into our chains, being purſued by other fiſh.

The dolphins were from four to five feet in length, and the largeſt five feet ſeven inches, very beautiful, both

both in and out of the water, changing their colour, like the rainbow. The weather was fine and fair, all hands on board very comfortably ſituated, and all in high ſpirits, as we now drew nigh the place of our deſtination. At 5 P. M. the expected land appeared in ſight: every ſoul glowed with the warmeſt ſentiments of gratitude, while ſeveral *even* began to conſider in what order we ſhould go on ſhore.

CHAP. II.

Particulars, reſpecting the Capture of the Duff, by the French Privateer, Le Grand Buonaparte, Captain Carbonelle, Commander, off Cape Frio.

FEBRUARY 19th, 1799.

THIS was a day, much to be remembered by all on board the ſhip Duff, by thouſands in our native country, and even in other parts of the world, on account of the trying diſpenſation of Providence which took place, as it appeared to check and retard, for ſome time, Miſſionary efforts.

The morning was pleaſant, there was but little wind, and we were within ſight of Cape Frio, with our cables bent, ready to anchor in the harbour of Rio Janeiro.

Our ſituation, which had been rendered more comfortable by the ſupply of freſh proviſions, and the pleaſing proſpect of being moored in a ſafe harbour, on

on the morrow, after having been eight weeks at ſea, cauſed every heart to glow with pleaſure and gratitude to the Giver of all Good; a pleaſure and gratitude, which were enhanced from contemplating the idea of partaking of a neceſſary ſupply, which ſhould renew our ſtrength, and furniſh additional motives for our perſeverance in that *honourable cauſe*, in which we had embarked. But the pleaſure enjoyed in this contemplation, ſo benumbed our faculties, as to make us inſenſible to our real ſituation. The experience of a chriſtian, as well as that of the ſoldier and the mariner, hath often taught him, that eaſe in warfare is not always ſafe; and that, frequently, more danger is to be found in a calm, than in a ſtorm.

The idea of Dr Watts was highly applicable to us:

"We ſhould ſuſpect ſome danger near,
"Where we poſſeſs delight."

Thus was it with us, on this memorable day. Few, if any of us, entertain the idea, that hitherto we were to come in the Miſſionary ſhip Duff, but no farther; and that all our pleaſing hopes of reaching a ſafe harbour, or engaging in Miſſionary work, in the Southern Iſles, at leaſt, in this Miſſion, were at an end; and the hour approached, for the commencement of one of the ſevereſt trials; nor was there any circumſtance attending this trial, more painful and diſtreſſing, than the ſeparation, which took place, from thoſe who were united to us by the deareſt ties of natural affection, and were now to ſhare in the general calamity.

Early in the morning we diſcovered a ſtrange ſail,

aſtern, near the ſhore, which appeared to us to be riding at anchor, as if ſhe had been becalmed. We afterwards ſaw her under way, and ſuppoſed, that ſhe was bound to the ſame port. Truly ſingular has it ſince appeared to us, that the ſight of this ſhip had quite a different effect upon moſt, from that which the view of others had produced. We perceived no danger, and offered up no prayers for deliverance, as we had done on former occaſions. Several times we viewed her with our glaſſes, but as ſhe was very low, we could not perceive her hull. Different opinions were entertained, as to her force, but the moſt general one was, that ſhe was the Porpus, the ſhip which was to convey Governor King to New South Wales; for we had left her behind in England, as ſhe had not arrived at Portſmouth when the convoy ſailed.

We had all our ſails ſet as well as ſhe; but as there was ſcarcely any wind we made but little progreſs. All the Miſſionaries were buſy as in days paſt. Some were waſhing their clothes, that they might be ready to go on ſhore; others, and I, were employed in writing letters to our friends in England, wiſhing to give them the earlieſt information of our ſafe arrival at the firſt port. We performed our worſhip on deck as uſual, and Brother P. Leveſque preached.

The evening being pleaſant, and the moon ſhining clear, moſt of us were upon deck, as uſual, to enjoy the air, and could perceive our enemy, though we did not then recognize her as ſuch. After moſt had ſupped, our Captain, Mr. Smith, Mr. Howell, and ſeveral, retired

tired to bed, and others were retiring, when a ſudden ſquall of wind and rain coming on, the remainder likewiſe withdrew, between ten and eleven o'clock.

All the children were faſt aſleep, and my partner was retiring, when we heard the report of a gun from our ſuppoſed friend. The women began to be ſomewhat alarmed, while moſt of the Miſſionaries, the Captain, and ſeamen, did not believe that ſhe was an enemy. At the worſt, we ſuppoſed that ſhe might be a Portugueſe, and if ſo, all was well.

Captain Robſon ordered the ſhip to be laid to, and then came down to the women between decks, and exhorted them not to be afraid, as he had no doubt of her being a friend. As it rained hard, I put on my great coat, and went upon deck. Our ſhip not bringing to ſo ſoon as they wiſhed, ſhe fired another ſhot, which I perceived, as I ſtood on the quarter deck, to paſs by our larboard quarter; and a third gun flaſhed, but did not go off. The ſquall catching her before we felt it, ſhe was ſoon abreaſt of us, and hailed us in Engliſh: "*What ſhip? Whence come?*" and "*Whither bound?*" At being hailed in Engliſh, it afforded us pleaſure, as it appeared to confirm our opinion that ſhe was a friend.

Captain Robſon anſwered, and informed them what ſhip, who we were, and whither bound; when he received an anſwer to ſend our boat alongſide directly. Our boats had been freſh caulked and painted, completely ready, in expectation of going on ſhore at Rio Janeiro. The jolly-boat was now hoiſted over

the ſide, when Mr. Smith the chief mate, with four ſeamen, went into her, with the ſhip's papers, and we wiſhed him a ſafe return. When the boat reached the unknown ſhip, the author with moſt of the Miſſionaries ſtood leaning over the ſide, waiting the return of the boat, and to hear the true import of this unexpected ſalutation, when we heard the next report from this ſhip, which was, "*ſend all the paſſengers on board.*" At this, ſeveral began to conclude that ſhe was an enemy, although we ſtill faintly hoped that ſhe would turn out otherwiſe. But ſoon a boat came alongſide without either Mr. Smith or the ſeamen, and this had a moſt unfavourable appearance; yet we derived ſome hope from the circumſtance that all the boat's crew ſpoke good Engliſh. When the queſtion was put, what ſhip ſhe was, they anſwered, the Spitfire, come from the coaſt of Ireland. Theſe men paſſed for Americans, but I believe that half of them were Engliſh, who, having violated all laws, human and divine, were employed in this iniquitous work of plunder. The women were again encouraged to believe that all would ſoon be well, at hearing nothing but Engliſh voices alongſide of our Captain. But ſoon orders were iſſued that every man muſt leave the Duff, enter the boat, and go on board the unknown ſhip, when, with others, I retired below to prepare ourſelves for a ſeparation from our wives and children. In the mean time we ſaw ſome ill-looking fellows take poſſeſſion of our ſhip, and whatever property they could lay their hands on. I

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ſhifted myſelf, putting on a clean ſhirt, and then gave my watch to my wife. When at the ſight of ſo very diſagreeable perſons, armed with cutlaſſes and piſtols, as entered between decks to ſeparate us, ſhe began to expreſs her fear of what would become of her dear little ones; I felt my mind particularly more compoſed than ever I could have ſuppoſed it would have been in ſo trying a moment. I endeavoured to diſpel her fears, and to encourage her by remarking, that this providence evidently was the Lord's will, and ſhe, with me, would ſee that it was amongſt the *all* things, which would work together for our good. That I had no doubts of our meeting again, that it was our duty to ſubmit to *him* who "does all things well"—and to be ſtill and know that He was God, and fear not, for we were *yet* in his hands, who cared for us. My wife now reſumed her courage, and dried up every tear, and we bade farewell to each other; after which I proceeded to enter the boat, without having any thing to ſhift myſelf, or ſixpence in my pocket, and no ſtockings, as through the ſudden ſurprize my wife could not find a pair, ſo that I was compelled to go without them.

I now entered the boat, in which were moſt of the unmarried Brethren, Mr. Howell, and ſome of the ſeamen. When the boat had left the ſhip, on ſurveying the company, I found myſelf to be the only married man amongſt them, a circumſtance which gave me ſome concern, as I entertained a thought that it might be their method to allow the married men to continue

continue with their families on board the Duff, and conſidered myſelf as an exception from the general rule. But we were ſoon alongſide of this priſon-ſhip, the ſight of which was far from appearing pleaſant to any of us. We went on board, and being guided aft upon the quarter-deck, where ſentinels were placed over us, the number of ſtrange and diſagreeable perſons whom we ſaw armed with ſo many deſtructive weapons, was ſuch, that we could not but forcibly feel for our ſudden change. Soon our Captain, ſeamen, and all the other brethren, were brought on board, excepting two boys, John Greathead and James Webſter; William Howell having come with his father along with us; and although his father pleaded hard for permiſſion for the lad to ſtay with him it was not granted, and he was ſent back on board the Duff to join the other lads. It was alſo requeſted by Captain Robſon that the married men might be permitted to remain with their families, but this was poſitively denied. After ſome pleading Dr. Turner was permitted to return to the women, in caſe of the indiſpoſition of any of them, particularly as Mrs. Jones and my partner drew near the time of their delivery. We all knew that Brother Turner would afford much relief to our wives, as it did alſo to ourſelves; becauſe we had every reaſon to believe that he would exert himſelf to the utmoſt to make their ſituation as comfortable as poſſible. Captain Carbonelle, the commander of the French ſhip, gave Mr. Smith alſo permiſſion to return in the boat, that he might procure

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ſome clothes. But although he made the attempt he was compelled to leave the cabin without getting any, being driven with a cutlaſs upon deck. On his return we learned that he had been between decks, to take his leave of the women, and found them ſtanding at the cabin-door, ſuſpicious that both their perſons and apparel were in imminent danger. They immediately ſurrounded him, when he exhorted them to take courage; and when he parted from them few tears fell from any eye, as they appeared to be wonderfully ſupported, conſidering their ſituation.

The French prize Captain had ſtationed a ſentinel at the hatchway, with a drawn ſword, to prevent any from going below where they were; when Mr. Smith requeſted him preſſingly to take particular care of the ladies.

We all remained together on the quarter-deck, and we hoped to enjoy the privilege of the air the whole night. My mind was yet compoſed, and I could with liberty have engaged in the worſhip of God. It was propoſed to our Captain to ſing an hymn; but it was recommended by him to deſiſt this night, and he would requeſt the French Captain in the morning, to allow us to enjoy our worſhip as uſual.

I ſuppoſe that it might be about two or three o'clock, A. M. when we received orders to go below. It was with concern theſe orders were heard, but with much more, when we found that we were crammed together between decks, excepting the Captain and

Mr.

Mr. Smith, where the height was ſcarcely ſufficient to allow us to ſit upright, one over the other, under dirty hammocks, and almoſt ſuffocated for want of air; yet compelled to enter at the point of the ſword, which was held to our backs, while thoſe who had knives were forced to deliver them up. The remainder of the time till the morning advanced was ſpent in a doleful ſituation, as we knew not but for want of natural air, ſome of us would be deprived of life before day-break. Oh! with what unſpeakable pleaſure, at ſix o'clock, did we receive the order to come on deck. But in what language ſhall I convey an idea of the pleaſurable ſenſation which I felt, at receiving the benefit of the ſalubrious air. I am at a loſs for a compariſon to deſcribe fully the ſtate of my feelings. It was like a powerful ſtream of life, flowing rapidly through my noſtrils into every vein.

Our firſt concern was, to look after our ſhip the Duff, and our feelings may eaſily be conceived by every man of ſenſibility, when we beheld her ſteering a direct courſe from us, in the poſſeſſion of the enemy, and gradually diſappearing. I felt with others much at this affecting ſight, which was as a dagger to our faith and hope; and our concern was ſtill more heightened at receiving the information from our Captain, who had been told by the French Captain, that the Duff could not be ranſomed, but would be carried to Rio de la Plata, to the Spaniſh port of Monte Video, South America, and that he had come out upon a three months

months cruize, and could not return into port until that time expired, or he had captured two or three good prizes.

We now knew that the ſhip was Le Grand Buonaparte, pierced for 22 nine-pounders, a French privateer, manned by upwards of 200 ſailors, Captain A. Carbonelle, commander, which information we had not received on board the Duff.

In addition to this, we underſtood that as ſoon as they diſcovered us, they immediately gave chaſe; but as there was little wind they took to their long ſweeps, by which they rowed the ſhip at the rate of three and four miles an hour; that they ſuppoſed us Engliſh, and for that reaſon hailed us in our own language; and as we were ſome time before we brought to, or ſent the boat, they imagined that we were preparing for action, and were on the point of giving a broadſide, having already hailed and told us, that if we did not ſend the boat they would fire. The order was given for that purpoſe, but as they were about to obey an officer prevented it, by declaring that we had ſtruck and backed our main-ſail.

On ſeeing the Duff this day taking her departure from us, I wrote the following lines:

This gloomy ſcene, which now attracts my ſight,
Would baffle faith, and put my hope to flight.
I feel my ſpirit ſink—yet, to the Lord
I look—believe—and reſt upon his word:
While all around does but augment my grief,
I feel the promiſe yet to my relief.

Every one who is in the leaſt degree acquainted with human nature muſt acknowledge, that in certain ſituations the mind is in a continual fluttering between hope and fear: theſe two feelings alternately hold poſſeſſion of it; and let a man be ever ſo much endowed with fortitude there are particular times when he feels his fortitude ſo yielding to the adverſe events of life, as to make his ſpirits ſink within him, at the idea either of thoſe diſtreſſes which have been already felt, or of thoſe, which, in future, he may in all probability feel. This I experienced fully in the preſent inſtance. The critical ſituation of our wives on board the Duff preyed much upon our minds, as we were unacquainted with each other's ſtate during this ſeparation; only, as priſoners of war, we ſuppoſed that they would either be in continual expectation of ſeeing us, or deſpair of ſeeing us any more. Mrs. Jones and Mrs. Gregory, the one with two, and the other with three children, looking forward in their diſtreſs to the critical moment of child-birth, while we were wrenched from them as captives. This was the circumſtance which lay heavieſt on our minds. Knowing that Mrs. Gregory would be delivered before the expiration of three months, and her frequent fears as to her ſafety, in that moment, while we were together, which ſhe had communicated to me, convinced alſo that my abſence in ſuch a ſtate muſt add to her ſorrow; I was ready ſometimes to conclude that I ſhould ſee her no more in this vale of tears. Theſe, with many other diſtreſſing thoughts, frequently cauſed much

much uneaſineſs, which I could not poſſibly prevent. We ſhould all have been more comfortably ſituated if we had known how they were, but frequent doubts of their ſafety marred every comfort.

The ſudden change of our companions, diet and lodging, was ſenſibly felt; into this condition we had been hurled as in a moment; but even here we could ſtill communicate the deſires of our ſouls to the Author of all our mercies, though we could not to the partners of our exile. We ſeverally can bear witneſs that the Lord heard and anſwered prayer. Bleſſed be the Lord! He did not ſuffer us to deſpair; for ſoon light ſprang through this dark and trying diſpenſation, and we evidently ſaw that the Lord was yet on our ſide, though men had been permitted to riſe up againſt us.

The French Captain, when the inſtructions of the Directors to Capt. Robſon were read, appeared to feel exceedingly for our diſtreſs. He ſaid, that "*If he had known who we were, and in what we were engaged, he would ſooner have given* 500*l. out of his own pocket than have met us; but now the laws of his country, his officers and men compelled him to act as he did.*" He alſo aſſured us, that "*the women and children ſhould be well treated, as the officers whom he had put on board were men of character, who would protect both them and theirs. He was ſorry that he had ſeparated their huſbands from them, which he would not have done if he had known as much of us as he now did: but that he would ſend ſome in each prize which he took after the Duff.*"

At the ſame time we experienced many unpleaſant things; our ſituation was extremely uncomfortable; we now knew the worth of water, by the painful experience of the want of it. Such as in England we ſhould have refuſed to waſh our hands with was now valuable in this hot climate to quench our thirſt, the allowance being but a ſcanty quart in 24 hours, while we were nearly ſuffocated during the night, being ſo cloſely confined together as ſcarcely to have room to move; the boards were very irregular on which we ſlept, ſome even two inches above the reſt. The French ſailors in paſſing to and from their hammocks every watch trod over us, and the vermin from the hammocks of their men dropped upon thoſe under them, while the ſentinels with ſwords and piſtols ſtood on guard; who, when they paſſed to and from the lantern, uſed to put the points of their ſwords between us to feel for room where they might put their feet. This ſituation, in which we continued always for twelve hours, added to the diſtreſsful ſtate of our minds, would ſuffer us to enjoy but little reſt; yet if any through exceſſive fatigue taſted the ſweets of repoſe, it was generally attended by the loſs of their little property in clothes, which the extreme heat had compelled them to take off. By means of theſe hardened wretches ſome of the Brethren frequently in a morning were without a hat, an handkerchief, or ſome other article of dreſs. Thoſe who had time or recollection on the night of capture had brought a ſmall bundle of clothes with them, but loſt either part or the

the whole, on account of the covetous diſpoſition of the ſailors. Even before we got on board while the boat was alongſide, ſome of theſe poor unhappy men ſtood over the ſide with a line and hook to draw up the bundles into the ſhip. The ſhort time, and the avaricious temper of the French ſailors, who ſnatched at every thing within their reach, would ſuffer but little property to come out of the Duff, and every mean was employed by them to obtain it. I, for mine own part, never ſtripped off any of my clothes the whole time that I was on board, except my hat and coat, which I uſed to double up and ſit upon in the night, ſo that having nothing but what I wore, from this precaution I loſt nothing. My mind being penetrated with a deep ſenſe of the dreadful effects of ſin and deſtructive war, one of its fatal conſequences, I could not but be aſtoniſhed in ſome degree, that men ſhould be ſo hardened by it, that after they had taken our perſons and property, they ſhould ſtill ſtrive to plunder the plundered and rob the deſtitute. However it may be mentioned to the honour of Captain Carbonelle, that this took place without his knowledge or permiſſion.

How often has my mind been ſeverely tried by this reflection, that the Almighty ſhould ſuffer men whom we would have avoided in our ſtreets, from fear of contamination, to rule over and guard us with ſwords. I could not unravel this myſtery, but with David in the word of God I ſaw, "they ſtood in a ſlippery place."

Several

Several of us having but one ſhirt each, were obliged to go without linen while we waſhed it, that we might to the utmoſt of our power preſerve ourſelves from dirt and vermin, a precaution abſolutely neceſſary in this diſtreſſed ſituation. Soon after we had loſt ſight of the Duff, darkneſs gradually overſpread our minds for the firſt few days of our captivity. The third day eſpecially was, amongſt the married Brethren, a day of general mourning; ſorrow filled our hearts, but amidſt all our ſorrow there was a ſecret pleaſure in the thought that the Lord had neither ſhut up our ſouls, or his gracious ear from our ſupplications; and we could not but believe that it was a token for good: for, ſurely, God is good to Iſrael. It may here be obſerved, that the liberty of public worſhip was denied us; it was performed the next morning only, as they appeared great enemies to revelation in general, eſpecially a perſon who interrupted us while we were engaged in religious duties, and appeared the moſt hoſtile to our worſhip. He was one of the ſeamen, and was either an Engliſhman or an American. The reaſon which was privately aſſigned to our Captain by Captain Carbonelle, for this prohibition was, that "*there were under his command men, whoſe ſentiments in regard to religion were exceedingly different from each other, ſo that he was afraid if he permitted any much confuſion might enſue.*" The only public ſervice therefore from that day was aſking a bleſſing over our proviſion, which we regularly did, with our hats off. This ſeemed in general to attract much

much attention, as we were ſometimes ſurrounded. But ſurely a tribute of praiſe cannot be omitted to Him, who, to our aſtoniſhment, preſerved our health in the midſt of this trial.

Our proviſions and manner of partaking of them were as follows: For breakfaſt we had biſcuit and butter, half a pint of water and about a glaſs of brandy; for dinner an allowance of ſalted pork in a tub with vinegar, the ſame quantity of brandy, and nearly a pint of water; one knife was allowed for twelve, and taken away immediately when we had finiſhed. Supper was ſerved at five o'clock, which either conſiſted of horſe or French beans, or peaſe, boiled in water, with broken biſcuit, nearly appearing as thick as mud. This was ſerved in our tub with half a pint of water, and the ſame allowance of ſpirits. A chip of wood was uſed by us inſtead of a ſpoon, we drank our water out of a cocoa-nut ſhell, and the brandy from a ſpoon, till it was loſt. Thus we eat and drank the bread and water of affliction; and when ſix o'clock came were ordered below. The Captain, chief Mate, and Mr. Howell, fared better, being admitted to the table of Captain Carbonelle.

Almoſt every day we either paſſed Cape Frio, or were within ſight of the extenſive continent of South America. My mind was often affected by ſurveying theſe dark mountains and deſolate hills. This hymn frequently made a moſt powerful impreſſion:

"O'er theſe gloomy hills of darkneſs,
"Look my ſoul, be ſtill, and gaze," &c.

Although

Although my mind was much concerned from not knowing in what manner Providence might diſpoſe of us, I am firmly perſuaded, nor have I ever been ſuffered to doubt, that all the promiſes of God are *yet* yea and amen, ſure and certain with reſpect to the calling of the heathen, and gathering into Chriſt the poor ignorant ſons and daughters of Adam; and that the time ſhall yet come, although the ways of Providence appear ſo dark to us at preſent, yea, it may be nearer than any expectation which we can form, when theſe gloomy parts of the globe ſhall be made partakers of the illumination of divine grace.

And although Satan by this providence ſhould be ſuffered to bruiſe *our* heels, yet if even the Lord did not honour *us* with a commiſſion he will raiſe up others, who will deſtroy his kingdom and power over the dark parts of the earth: and even his roaring againſt us ſo loudly in this Miſſion, with his power over the nations, may be conſtrued into evidences that his time is but ſhort. On recollecting this portion of ſacred writ, Deut. viii. 8. "*Thou ſhalt remember all the way which the Lord thy God hath led thee,*" &c. I wrote ſome few lines in reference to the voyage of the Duff until her capture, which I have here omitted, intending to give them in the ſequel of the narrative, provided there be ſufficient room. Several inſtances of the kindneſs of the Lord were manifeſted towards us while on board this ſhip, although ſurrounded by men of the moſt abandoned principles, *we were protected from injury*; yea, even thoſe who gave moſt awful

evidences

evidences of their hatred to God and his ways, shewed great kindness towards us. A black servant, named George, exhibited no small attention, and we often thought of the Ethiopian, who manifested kindness to Jeremiah, the prophet, while he was in prison, and shall rejoice if our God shall make him a partaker of the same covenant-blessing. The first Lieutenant likewise displayed uncommon regard, ordered a sail to be spread below for us to sleep on during the night, and made the sailors shift their hammocks to one side, to make our situation more easy and comfortable. *A visible display of Divine Providence* was evident in the preservation of our health to an astonishing degree. In this respect our state was superior to that in which we had been while on board the Duff; for none were indisposed, except Mr. Burton, our second Mate.

21st. During night *Le Buonaparte* took a Portuguese brig, which was laden with salt. When the Captain of this prize was brought on board he supposed Captain Carbonelle to be an Englishman, as the Linguist addressed him in good English. He assumed some degree of confidence, and informed this interpreter that there wrs a French privateer cruizing off this coast; and on being asked how he had acquired this intelligence said, that he had spoken with a Portuguese frigate, which was on the look out for her. Another inquiry was, in what latitude and longitude he had left her, when the French Captain received the most satisfactory information, and at

length desired to know if he had got many clothes on board; to this he answered in the affirmative; he was then requested to return in the boat, and bring them aboard this ship, "for," said Carbonelle, "I am a Frenchman." The poor distressed captive, who, until this declaration had maintained the firmest countenance, now exhibited the most melancholy aspect, for his features fully painted the anxiety of his mind, while he declared his ruined state, as his *all* consisted of the vessel and cargo.

I had previously intreated the Captain for permission to go in the first prize, on account of the situation in which I had left my wife; and he gave me the strongest assurances, that "*I, and Mr. Jones, should be first attended to, and that all anxiety might subside on my part, I should not be forgotten.*" I therefore waited at the hatchway in expectation of being liberated from below, and embarking in this vessel; but after waiting for a considerable time in a most disagreeable state of suspence, we received the information that the boat had put off, and the brig out of sight. As my prospect of departure was great, the disappointment was particularly afflictive, it struck like a poniard to my heart, and I was ready to blame our Captain, supposing that he had omitted to remind Captain Carbonelle of his promise, a supposition however which was groundless, as he declared that in the confusion of boarding this prize it had totally escaped his recollection.

Here again *a visible display of Divine Providence appeared,*

peared, this very ſhip ſplit upon a rock and was loſt, of which I ſhall ſpeak more fully in the proſecution of the narrative. After the priſoners were brought on board the following day, they, with the ſeamen belonging to the Duff, were put in irons, as the number of the priſoners was now ſo augmented as to give riſe to fearful apprehenſions on the part of the French. This circumſtance was peculiarly diſtreſſing to them in this hot climate, and very affecting for us to ſurvey this addition to their calamity.

The intelligence that a Brazil frigate was cruizing after this privateer made a deep impreſſion on the mind of Carbonelle, which appeared from the ſtrong language that he expreſſed: "*If*," ſaid he, "*I were in Europe, and met an Engliſh ſhip of ſuperior force, when I was fully ſatisfied of it, I would ſtrike, and go priſoner to England; and if in Europe I fell in with a Portugueſe, and was overpowered, I would ſtrike, and go priſoner to Portugal; but if in theſe ſeas I am met by this frigate I will never ſurrender myſelf nor the Buonaparte, as the remainder of my life might be ſpent in a miſerable exile on the inhoſpitable coaſt of Brazil, and I ſhould never ſee again my native ſhore; ſo that the moment I find myſelf overpowered, I will, with a piſtol, terminate my exiſtence.*"

24th. This was the firſt Sunday of our captivity, and we began ſeverely to feel the want of the ordinances of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt. Nothing on board this ſhip reminded us of the return of the Lord's

day, as they neither obſerved the firſt day of the week, nor the 10th, agreeably to the new arrangement of time which has taken place in France ſince the revolution. We agreed to aſſemble together in the long-boat on the gunwale, and in the fore-channel, in parties of two and three, a meaſure which was carried into execution; there the word of God was read, ſocial prayers preſented, and to the delightful experience of all, it was found to be good *thus* to wait upon the Lord. It pleaſed the Lord to pour out a ſpirit of prayer on the Miſſionaries in general I believe this day, which bleſſing I was inclined to view as a token of *future good*. We read ſeveral portions of ſacred writ, as we ſat leaning over the ſhip's ſide, which were exactly ſuited to our ſtate, were enabled to hope in God, and go alternately to his throne, praying for the fulfilment of his promiſes in our own experience. We found this day a very humbling one, and before night, bleſſed the Lord for what we felt in our own ſouls, reſolved in his ſtrength to plead every day in like manner, as we found his preſence and word ſweeter than honey, or the honey-comb, and were animated with hope that our Redeemer would ſpeedily appear in our behalf. I remembered that I had read ſome book while I reſided in England, (the letter of a priſoner in the laſt century, according to the beſt of my recollection) a part of which now forcibly attracted my mind—"*Let no Chriſtian dread a priſon. It is the only Book*; wanting

wanting other books, we learn the book of Self." This leſſon *we* have learned more than ever, by this providence. Yes! the peculiar opportunities which we enjoyed while aboard Le Grand Buonaparte, converted the place, diſmal enough in other reſpects, into a Bethel, yea, a ſanctuary, a ſanctum ſanctorum, into which the poor, thoughtleſs ſinners, who were around us, could not enter, nor taſte the ſweets of our worſhip, flowing from a delightful communion with Jeſus, in the ſpirit of prayer. We could not, it is true, enjoy public worſhip; this privilege was abſolutely denied; nor could our deareſt friends in England ſympathize with us in our diſtreſs, as the mournful report had not *yet* reached their ears. But our ſpiritual High Prieſt gave us his bleſſing, and ſympathized with us, entered, by the influences of his Holy Spirit, into our hearts, and gave us admiſſion into his holy place, through his blood: for the experience of all this, we have moſt abundant reaſon to adore and bleſs our God.

26th. The Buonaparte captured, after a chaſe of ſeveral hours, another Portugueſe brig, (a Liſbon packet), about the entrance into the harbour of Rio Janeiro. However, before ſhe was overtaken, the Captain ſent all the paſſengers, letters, and money, on ſhore in the long boat, which got ſafe to land. The Buonaparte chaſed under Engliſh colours, for the purpoſe of deception; but, when ſhe fired a ſhot, a man at the maſt-head ſtood ready, at that moment,

to

to ſtrike the Engliſh, and hoiſt the French. Yet, after the gun was fired, the Engliſh flag continued flying, till the packet was captured. During the interval from the capture of the laſt prize, the French Captain having received information, that one of us could ſpeak French, told Captain Robſon, that it would be beſt to ſend one who could give the officers on board as much information as poſſible, adding, that an interpreter would prove highly acceptable. This declaration being communicated to us, we previouſly agreed, that Mr. P. Leveſque, as he underſtood the French, ſhould go firſt, I next, and Mr. Jones as the third. Mr. Leveſque was therefore ſent a-board the prize, which was to ſail directly for Monte Video, and ſhe was ſoon out of ſight.

Amongſt the priſoners who were brought on board from the Liſbon packet, was *an aged Roman Catholic prieſt*, againſt whom the French ſailors did not ceaſe to manifeſt their utter abhorrence, and threatened to hang him up at the yard-arm; a threat, however, which was not put into execution.

The prayer-meetings continued to be held on the gunwale, and was found very profitable, though the ſituation was highly uncomfortable, eſpecially during the night; the approach of which was continually dreaded; but our health was yet miraculouſly preſerved.

MARCH

MARCH 1st.

Before the break of day Le Buonaparte took another Portugueſe prize, come from the Cape of Good Hope, and bound for Rio Janeiro, with 180 negro-ſlaves as her cargo. When the French were about to board her, ſome papers, which had a tendency to condemn her, were thrown overboard, but picked up by the boat, and dried in the oven ſo as to be rendered legible, to the great ſatisfaction of the French officers. I was called up at day-light, to go a-board this prize. After having received a few letters from the brethren to the females, and taken my farewell, I entered the jolly-boat which formerly belonged to the Duff, and was conveyed, with the French prize-maſter, a-board the ſtrange ſhip. While the boat was alongſide, the ſea running rather high for ſo ſmall a boat, the captive Portugueſe Captain, who was a ſtout old man, fell overboard with his head foremoſt into the ſea, but I, who was at that time ſtanding in the boat, inſtantly caught hold of one of his legs, and he was taken up without receiving any injury. I could not but feel for this poor man, who had loſt his ſhip and money, at ſeeing him compelled to enter the boat, while a piſtol was held to his breaſt: indeed, it was with the ſtrongeſt reluctance that he quitted his veſſel. His employment, in the traffic of human beings, was ſurely no honour to him. I thought it might have been

been *thus* with thoſe, whom he had held as his ſlaves, and that probably he had compelled *them* to quit their native ſoil with as much violence as *he* was now conſtrained to feel, to his own woeful experience.

When I got aboard this brig a new diſtreſsful ſcene opened to the view, and operated deeply on the feelings of my heart. The deck was covered with the poor, wretched ſons and daughters of Africa. The ſight of ſo many men, women and children, who were almoſt naked, was *truly* deplorable. The ſcurvy raged amongſt them to that degree, that moſt of them were covered with blotches from the ſole of the foot to the crown of the head.

The veſſel was ſo crouded, that there was ſcarcely room to get along the deck, and in ſo leaky a condition, that they were pumping when we came on board, ſo that the deck was ſwamped with water. Le Buonaparte was ſoon out of ſight, and ſeeing the bad ſtate of this veſſel, I concluded, that to keep her above water would be accompanied with ſome difficulty. Being now alone, for thoſe who have been already deſcribed were but wretched companions, I keenly felt the abſence of my brethren, and not having a ſingle countryman to converſe with, darkneſs began to overcaſt my mind, whilſt the ſurrounding ſcene heightened my ſorrow.

Sometimes I thought that the negroes, confiding in their great number, might be induced to riſe upon their new maſters, the few Frenchmen aboard. At

other

other times, that I might catch the infection, which was so general that it raged like the plague: some lay dying, while others were reduced to mere skeletons, being destitute of the means which were essential to the preservation of their lives. The Frenchmen soon found that there was too little water aboard for such a number—scarcely any provision—no spirits or wine, except a small case of *liqueurs* which had been brought by the Captain and officers. The bottom of the vessel was so foul with sea-weed, that it was the universal opinion that we should have a tedious passage. Another circumstance, dreaded by the Frenchmen, added considerably to my distress. They all seemed to be dejected at being aboard, on account of the infection; for, even though they arrived at the Spanish port, they should be compelled to perform quarantine, and thus we should all be detained in the ship till two months had elapsed. My desire of seeing again my family was so great, that I could not endure to hear this report, and was ready to exclaim with good old Jacob, "*All these things are against me.*" The separation both from my family and brethren, in such a situation, continually preyed upon my mind, and I was sorely beset on every side, like the Psalmist, "*A sparrow alone on the house-top.*"

It was now my thought that I should never behold my family more; that now I was *indeed separated:* that the Brethren would be conveyed safe, while I should either be tossed about on the mighty ocean,

or conſigned to a watery grave. Yet, even in this mental diſtreſs, I was not, bleſſed be the Lord, given up wholly to the dominion of fear, but enabled to flee to the *ſtrong hold* for ſtrength. The truth of this Scripture was fully illuſtrated: Nah. i. 7.—"The Lord is a ſtrong hold in the day of trouble, and he knoweth them who truſt in Him." The Lord alſo gave me favour in the eyes of the French Captain and officers, who behaved at once with kindneſs and reſpect. This brig had a round-houſe aft, with four bed-places, one of which was given me, with four new mats to ſleep upon, and the flag of the ſhip by way of coverlet, when the Captain made this declaration, *that theſe were the beſt he had, and if he had better I ſhould have it.* I alſo eat with him, and he ſeemed to rejoice when I rejoiced, and to be ſorrowful when I ſorrowed. He even refuſed to take refreſhment, unleſs I partook with him; and, in ſhort, ſeemed delighted in rendering me as comfortable as circumſtances would admit. I am compelled to notice theſe particulars out of reſpect to this man for the kindneſs which he ſhewed to me in the day of affliction; and to make it evident that the Lord hath the hearts of all men in his hand, is faithful to his word, and can cauſe even *enemies* to treat us well in times of trouble. At the ſtern of the veſſel was a quiet, retired place, to which I continually reſorted from morning till evening, offered up many petitions, and read my hymn book, which I had borrowed from Mr. Jones, for in the night of

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our capture I had forgotten to bring away my bible, and never felt the want of it ſo much in my life before; though, like David, I could think on God's word and promiſes, and derive hope from the contemplation.

The ſcanty ſupply of water and proviſions aboard cauſed the French to act with the utmoſt caution in expending them. The poor negroes painfully endured the want of this neceſſary, as it was exceſſively hot. They would ſometimes hold their hands one under the other, when water was pouring out, and catch the drops as they fell, to cool their parched tongues. With eagerneſs they uſed to watch the time when I have been drinking, hoping to obtain a ſmall ſupply, which, when opportunity offered, I gave them as a temporary relief. How piercing the thought to me at that time, that I ſhould be placed among ſo many poor ſouls, deſtitute, at once, of natural water, and the water of life, and not able to ſpeak to them one word about *Chriſt and Him crucified.* How melancholy the reflection, that ſo many ſhould be found on board of one ſhip, who had never once been informed that there was a Saviour, who is mighty to ſave. They, complete ſtrangers to the living and true God, gave indiſputable evidences of their idolatry in their perſons and manners. The faces and bodies of both men and women were cut in a variety of forms: in the faces of moſt of the women were cut the figures of the ſun, moon, and ſtars, and down their backs in a vaſt diverſity of

ſhapes; with holes exceedingly large cut through their lips, &c. &c. One of theſe poor creatures appeared to be ſo far advanced in pregnancy, that her time ſeemed to be near at hand. Thoſe who were well, appeared to reſt ſatisfied with their ſituation, and paid little attention to the ſick. The only mark of affection I particularly noticed was, when this veſſel was firſt captured by the Buonaparte, they took eight of the healthieſt of the men out of her, and brought them aboard the privateer; when, hearing the cries of women, I went aft, and ſaw ſeveral of them weeping, and looking wiſtfully after the boat, which was carrying off the men, making a moſt affecting lamentation for the loſs of them, which continued until they were out of ſight.

In my bed-place I perceived a book which the Negro-Captain very probably uſed in his devotions, as it contained a picture of the Pope with his ſceptre and mitre exalted in the clouds of heaven, and his votaries worſhipping him in proſtrate adoration. I thought that the old man would miſs his idol in the Buonaparte. However diſtreſſed I might be it was my mercy that I knew the object of my worſhip was neither a picture, crucifix, nor pope, but the Lord of Hoſts, my only refuge.

3d. The ſecond Sabbath of our captivity arrived, and I had now to ſpend it, while labouring under the additional diſadvantage of being alone. It hath pleaſed the Lord literally *to empty us from veſſel to veſſel on the mighty deep*. Two Sabbaths paſt I ſpent the day aboard

aboard the Duff, with all our families and companions together, the laſt aboard a French privateer, with the brethren only, as priſoners, and this day in this ſtrange ſhip, among ſtrange people, alone. The morning came, I felt my mind deeply concerned with a ſenſe of our different ſituations. How little, thought I, did thoſe know who ſent us forth, and our dear friends in England, who aſſembled that day, to worſhip in the various churches, that we, who had embarked in one ſhip, and one cauſe, ſhould be ſo divided by Providence upon the mighty deep. The women and children aboard the Duff, as captives, in an enemy's port—the brethren, Captain Robſon, and ſeamen, in a French privateer, amongſt men, who were in the contiuual purſuit of plunder—Brother Leveſque in a prize to our captors, and I in this alone—all many leagues ſeparated from each other. I was much at a loſs to know how I ſhould ſpend that day, ſo that my mind might be impreſſed with a ſenſe that it was peculiarly the Lord's. I had no clothes with which I could ſhift myſelf, and, in that reſpect, felt very diſagreeable. The French captain, however, though I do not ſuppoſe that he knew what day it was, as I never ſaw the leaſt notice taken of it, in the morning kindly offered to lend me a ſhirt. This offer was moſt thankfully accepted. And as I yeſterday ſat on the ſtern, I waſhed my pantaloons, though it was attended with the painful effect of burning my legs to that degree, that from the top of my half-boots, the ſkin came entirely off, and gave me

me exceſſive pain. I ſhifted, and found myſelf greatly revived by the change of apparel, after I had been nearly a fortnight in dirt. I began to think that it now looked like the Lord's day, and hope that it would prove ſo to me. Retiring aft, I addreſſed ſupplications to the Author of every mercy, and ſat down with the hymn book, under a ſenſe of the infinite value of goſpel ordinances, and a reproof for former omiſſions. I thought, if thoſe in England who are ſo highly bleſſed with them, did but know, as much as I, their value, means of grace would be more highly prized, and leſs ſlighted.

On reading theſe lines of Dr. Watts, I felt their meaning, and the deſire which they expreſs, more than ever I did:

> "Might I enjoy the meaneſt place,
> Within thy houſe, O God of grace,
> Not tents of eaſe, nor thrones of power,
> Should tempt my heart to leave thy door."

It is probable that an adverſary to the Miſſionary cauſe, or others who, being ignorant of their own feelings, imagine that Miſſionaries ſhould be religious ſtoics, may indulge themſelves with a ſecret ſmile or ſneer at theſe ſcenes of trial; but in whatever light they may be viewed by friends or enemies, I conceive myſelf to be *in duty* bound, to preſent every ſtate, both of body and mind, whch I experienced, and confeſs with St. Paul, "*That no chaſtening for the preſent ſeemeth to be joyous, but grievous; nevertheleſs afterward, it yieldeth the peaceable fruit of righteouſneſs*

righteouſneſs unto them which are exerciſed thereby." And I have little doubt in my mind, that thoſe who may triumph in our trials, would ſport with the afflictions of Job, the diſtreſſes of David, if not the bleeding agonies of the ſon of God upon the croſs.

My burdened wandering mind run this day into ſuch a variety of reflection, that I thought of committing a few things to writing; but, having neither pen, ink, nor paper, I took the ſlate from the *binnacle*, and began on that. When the French captain ſaw me thus employed, he brought a quire of paper, with pens and ink, and then I wrote ſome verſes, as they flowed from the feelings of my mind on this trying day, which will probably appear in the ſequel.

While I was writing I was interrupted by the Frenchmens' catching a large ſhark, which they found a difficult matter to get over the ſtern till he was dead; when, hoiſting him up to the top, they run their ſwords down his mouth, and killed him. Owing to this incident, I learned that ſome of the poor negroes were ſo deluded by their depraved reaſon, and the grand enemy of ſouls, as to have been in the habit of worſhipping that creature as their deity, and yet were able to recognize no other. This information led me to reflect on the great bleſſing of a divine revelation, and a knowledge of the true God, and eternal life in our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. Sitting aft to day, I felt my mind very much affected with the ſight of the body of one of the poor negroes floating on the waves, under the ſtern, who had died,

and

and was thrown overboard as usual, without any notice scarcely being taken of the incident. Means had been employed to gain his *body*, but none to gain his *soul*, which was now in an unknown world, and while he passed through the present state, he had never been once informed of the only *Lamb of God* which taketh away the sins of the world. I hoped, yea pleaded that the standard of the Redeemer's kingdom might soon be universally reared, and the heathen flock to it as doves to their windows. I retired this night to rest, much more composed in mind than I could have expected; yet deeply impressed with a sense of this trying dispensation of Providence.

4th. Having now procured pens, ink, and paper, and expecting a tedious passage from the circumstances which have been already stated, I sat down to write a few particulars of the way I had been led in providence and grace; and, if possible, to learn to confide in the Lord, if I were unable to trace His footsteps during this dark dispensation; and as I had no certain prospect of revisiting my native country, I fondly cherished the hope, that if I did not survive these vicissitudes, my papers might be providentially preserved for the consolation of my friends. No sooner had I sat down, than the report of a strange sail resounded throughout the ship. This had a powerful effect on the minds of the Frenchmen; particularly, when they saw her tack about and give us chace, as they supposed her to be the Portuguese frigate

frigate which was on the look out for the Buonaparte; and, knowing that it was impoſſible to eſcape by outſailing her, conſidered themſelves captured. They now began to pack up their clothes and money, and prepared for a removal, into a ſtate of confinement. Their money was ſewed up in belts, which they tied round their waiſt, in their trowſers and other apparel. I ſhall long remember one hardened wretch, who, according to my idea, was paſt feeling: he brought up his bag of clothes, the greateſt part of which had been the property of Miſſionaries, when, emptying them at my feet to pack them up tighter, and at the ſame time looking up to me, he cloſed his hands together, making a moſt bitter lamentation, little of which I underſtood *in the Letter*, but his countenance fully indicated the anguiſh of his heart. On reflecting for a moment, I reviewed both our ſituations, and was forcibly ſtruck by that ſaying of Micah, "*Ye have taken away my Gods, and what have I more.*" Though dejected, I enjoyed peculiar ſatisfaction from the fulleſt conviction, that in this reſpect, the believer has infinite advantage over the infidel. The French officers ſtrongly expreſſed their concern for me, obſerving that though I ſhould not be in the power of a political enemy, yet, as I was with them, I ſhould be conveyed to the coaſt of Brazil, whence it was impoſſible to ſay by what means I ſhould be enabled to remove, or ever be re-united to my family. This at firſt made a ſtrong impreſſion on my mind, I ſenſibly

at the idea of being removed to a different ſhore from that to which the probability was that my friends and family were taken. But, in a ſhort time I was enabled to reſume ſome degree of courage, from a review of the myſterious dealings of divine Providence with us in this voyage. I thought that if this prize was re-captured, it was probable that the Duff might be alſo retaken even by the ſame ſhip which now gave us chaſe, and we might *yet* meet unexpectedly at the ſame port However that might be, I was enabled to derive ſome conſolation from believing that I was continually under the protection of that divine Being "*who does all things well.*" The morning was ſpent by the Frenchmen in ſuch continual alarm, as almoſt prevented them from paying attention to the duty of the ſhip, while I continued writing. After dinner the ſtrange ſail drew ſo near, that they perceived her to be the Buonaparte, of which, when they were fully ſatisfied their apprehenſions ceaſed, and they exhibited the ſtrongeſt ſymptoms of joy and ſatisfaction, greatly enhanced by the acquiſition of proviſions and water, ſo much needed.

I confeſs that the ſecond ſight of the Buonaparte give me more pleaſure than the firſt, as I hoped that the cruize was given up, and we ſhould be taken together to our partners and children, where we ſhould unite in a grateful acknowledgment to the Lord for mercies eminently mingled with judgment.

The Captain now promiſed that he would enquire if they had really given up the cruize, and were

bound

bound direct to Monte Video; and if so, I might take my choice in which ship I would proceed thither. When she came abreast, her boat was sent alongside, and we were informed that the cruize was relinquished. When, though I was not so closely confined as on board the Buonaparte, especially in the night, yet I could not but consider this incident as a *visible display of Divine Providence* in my behalf, to re-unite me to my brethren, and introduce me to the sight of my family again. The boat's crew brought the information that *when they first descried us, though they had given up the cruize, yet supposing us to be another prize, they immediately gave chase; but discovering their mistake sooner than we, they fired a gun, hoisted the signal, namely the English Ensign, vice versa, under the bowsprit, with a shot to keep it steady. And as we neglected to answer, they, entertaining fears for our safety, came to take us in tow, and furnish us with a supply they supposed might be necessary.*

Captain Robson likewise understanding the disease that raged among the Negroes, and that the ship, on her arrival in port, must perform quarantine, requested Carbonelle to take me out, and bring me back; a request most chearfully granted.

It was nearly dark when I entered the boat to return. I took two of the mats which had been given me for my bed, and soon found myself aboard the privateer. To see the brethren again gave me very great pleasure, particularly as we were under sail to the port of our families' designation. After I had

got aboard, a rope was given to the prize, and we took her in tow. The wind now increaſed and blew a ſtrong breeze, ſo that we made rapid progreſs; but in the night the tow-rope broke, and the prize being left behind, was ſoon out of ſight.

On my re-union with the brethren, I learned that ſeveral things had tranſpired during my abſence, which more or leſs claimed our attention. I was concerned to ſee George, the black ſervant, who formerly behaved with ſome degree of kindneſs to us, in irons, and his prize-money forfeited on account of his imprudent conduct. He was familiar with Engliſhmen, and ſpoke their language well, but in an unguarded moment had quarrelled with the Frenchmen, and told them that he preferred the Engliſh to them and was a firm friend to King George and England.

Another circumſtance had occurred which made the brethren very uncomfortable on the laſt Lord's day. Captain Carbonelle having been informed that ſeveral of us had been plundered of ſome of our clothes, adopted the following method for the reſtoration of the property. Early in the morning he ſuddenly ordered all the hammocks, beds, bags, &c. to be brought to him upon the quarter deck, and had taken the neceſſary precaution to prevent any from eſcaping this general ſearch. When all things were brought up, he ſent for all the brethren to ſtand by, and claim their property as it was ſpread upon deck. By theſe means, ſome recovered a part of

of their property, and the detected thief was threatened with the loss of his prize-money. This transaction, however, tended only to heighten the enmity of these hardened wretches, which they did not cease to manifest in future, as far as they were permitted.

The brethren had also agreed to write a petition to the French Captain, to grant us our wearing apparel and beds; likewise to interest himself with the Spanish Governor, to prevent us from being confined as prisoners, and if possible to obtain our liberty; to this I agreed, especially to that part of the subject which respected our liberation, as the thought of close confinement ashore was what I very much dreaded. The petition was accordingly delivered, and the answer we received was, that *the Captain would do for us as much as lay in his power.*

Wednesday 6th. The Frenchmen caught two large sharks; when got on board and opened, six young ones were taken out of one, two feet long; they were not only alive, but exhibited the greatest vivacity, and when put into a large tub of water, swam with as much liveliness as if they had been in the sea.

It was a complete calm, so that the ship, on the minutest inspection, made no way, and the elements seemed to portend its continuance, which caused much dejection to the greatest part of us. We had already experienced the trial of being becalmed, and the idea occasioned us no small uneasiness, especially at this time, as we were so near the shore, so many

of

of us crouded together aboard the privateer; and as it prevented us from receiving the long desired intelligence of our families' safety. After a review of the many promises recorded in the scriptures, suitable to the state of every trial, we saw that "*our God held the winds in his fists, and the waters in the hollow of his hand,*" and that we had permission from our Lord Jesus Christ, to ask what we would, believing, and it should be done. The greatest part of us therefore agreed to make it a subject of prayer, by two and three together, to plead for a favourable wind, to relieve us from our present situation, and carry us forward to the desired port. We therefore ascended the gunwale, and in the fore-channel besought the Lord, if it were his will, to open his hand and send forth the wind out of his treasures, in our behalf.—This was in the afternoon, and soon our kind and gracious Lord was pleased, in a very conspicuous manner, to appear in our favour, and prove himself to be a God not only hearing, but answering prayer; for speedily we heard the sound of a breeze which increased every minute, and encouraged us to proceed in our supplications to the *Supreme*. A fine breeze sprang up, and before we quitted the gunwale we had the satisfaction to see the ship proceed forward, until it carried us, according to the log-book, at the rate of 15 miles an hour. This produced a most pleasing effect on our minds, as we considered every wave that passed as an answer to prayer, and retired below with the songs of thanksgiving

giving and praiſe. The French participated in our joy, on account of this proſperous gale; though one perſon, as we aſcended the gunwale, expreſſed his utter abhorrence of our ſupplications, declaring that "*he would ſooner make his petition to Satan.*"

The infidel, who is accuſtomed to aſcribe every incident to the agency of ſecond cauſes, and never to raiſe his thoughts to the Great Firſt Cauſe of all, who eſtabliſhed the laws which govern the whole material ſyſtem, and can at pleaſure ſuſpend their operation, may aſſume the ſmile of contempt at reading this our declaration; but let him ſmile: we truſt that nothing which *he* can either ſay or do, ſhall be able to undermine the foundations of our faith, in a wiſe and merciful Providence, who not only ſuperintends the *great concerns of nations*, but intereſts himſelf in the affairs of *the meaneſt individual.*

Thurſday 7th. When liberated from below, and beholding the aſtoniſhing progreſs of the ſhip, our pleaſure was renewed, our faith and hope ſtrengthened, we were enabled to rejoice in tribulation and captivity, relying on Him, who hath aſſured us in his own promiſe *never to leave nor forſake his people in time of need.* With thankſgiving we made our requeſt known unto God, and continued pleading on the gunwale, while this favourable gale rapidly increaſed and kept alive our expectation. We record this day as a moſt comfortable one, a proof that the divine preſence of the Lord can make his people happy in every

every ſtate; and we could feelingly adopt the language of Dr. Watts:

" Thy ſhining grace can cheer
" This dungeon where I dwell;
" 'Tis Paradiſe when thou art here;
" If thou depart, 'tis Hell.——

I believe that one of thoſe melting comfortable moments, enjoyed aboard this veſſel ſhall dwell in our recollection. We found *it good to draw nigh unto the Lord.*

Friday 8th. The wind blew hard but ſtill fair; it had regularly increaſed, and our progreſs in 24 hours was 360 miles. We were ready to exclaim with the diſciples, " *Behold what manner of Man is this that the winds and the waves obey Him.*" Providence ſmiled on our deſire of uniting with our loſt families, though in a ſtrange land, where we hoped to raiſe an *Ebenezer*, and aſcribe ſalvation unto the Lord.

March 10th was the third Sunday of our captivity, which with reſpect to the public ordinances of religion, we were compelled to ſpend in ſilence; nevertheleſs, our gunwale worſhip was not omitted; we met as before, and found it *good* to wait upon the Lord. How thankful ought we to be for the fair breeze which followed us. Yet in the evening we were in the ſame latitude as Monte Video, and expected to enter the river Rio de la Plata next morning. In the pleaſing proſpect of ſoon beholding our exiled

exiled wives and children, we retired below. Between our prayer-meetings, according to my general practice, I wrote ſome verſes, expreſſive of our ſtate this day and the week paſt.

Monday 11th. Laſt night while brother Jones and I were converſing on our pleaſurable ſenſations, the idea of the *deſired re-union* kept us awake, longing for the arrival of *that happy moment*, when our eyes might ſee, and our ears hear of their welfare, and in what manner they were diſpoſed of in the hands of ſtrangers in a foreign land. A ſailor, who came off from the middle watch, brought us the unpleaſant news, *that as we were about to enter the river, the wind ſhifted direct againſt us, that it was impoſſible to reach the port while it continued; that ſhips frequently were detained here for three weeks complete, altogether unable to enter; a reference was made to ſome veſſels, and even to the Buonaparte herſelf, which, during the laſt voyage, had been detained in the ſame manner.*

In a minute this information put all our hopes to flight, and melancholy dejection reſumed her dominion over the mind. It ſeemed as if the Lord forbad our entrance, and denied our requeſt. We reflected if we had any ground to hope and intreat permiſſion to enter this port, provided there was any encouragement given in ſcripture, ſufficient to enable us to plead with the Lord again to bleſs us with a favourable breeze.

But darkneſs ſeemed now to ſurround his throne, and cauſed me for ſome time to deſiſt from ſupplica-

tion. It ſtaggered my faith, that the wind which now blew powerfully from the weſt, at the requeſt of mortal ſinful men ſhould prevail from the eaſt.

" Myſterious oft, with ſtaggering faith we view
" His wond'rous works, ſtill they are juſt and true;
" Tho' clouds and darkneſs may his throne ſurround,
" Juſtice and Faith are ever with him found."

In theſe moments I wrote ſome more lines which calmed my mind, after which I found encouragement to *hope againſt hope*, and again we repaired to the uſual ſpot, to unite in beſeeching the Lord to grant us a fair breeze, that we might enter the place of our deſtination. Again the Lord heard our cry, and we received another evidence that He is Lord both of Nature and Grace, has all power in heaven and earth, and that nothing is too hard for Him to perform. For before evening the wind ſhifted to the oppoſite pole, and was perfectly fair for our entrance. How exactly was that promiſe fulfilled, Pſalm l. 15, *Call upon Me in the day of trouble; I will deliver thee, and thou ſhalt glorify Me*;" and we join the Pſalmiſt in his declaration, cxvi. 1-2 " *I love the Lord becauſe he hath heard the voice of my ſupplication. Becauſe he hath inclined his ear unto me, therefore will I call upon him as long as I live.*" If ever man on the mighty deep hath experienced the gracious interpoſition of heaven, we certainly did in this ſhip, and can with confidence ſet our ſeal to its truth.

We cannot but view the ſhortening of this ſhip's cruize as a *viſible diſplay of Divine Providence* in our behalf,

behalf, ſo that for the ſpace of three weeks only we continued in this miſerable ſituation at ſea, inſtead of three months, as they had originally deſigned.—Our deliverance too was wrought by the capture of others, though not of our country; and although we did not rejoice at the calamity of our fellow-creatures, yet we could not but feel ſatisfaction in being releaſed from a ſtate ſo very wretched. But I ſcarce knew how to be thankful, until I read to ſome of my brethren in Iſaiah xliii. 3, &c. "*For I am the Lord, thy God, the holy One of Iſrael, thy Saviour. I gave Egypt for thy ranſom, Ethiopia and Saba for thee. Since thou waſt precious in my ſight, thou haſt been honourable, and I have loved thee, therefore will I give men for thee and people for thy life. Fear not, for I am with thee. I will bring thy ſeed from the eaſt, and gather them from the weſt. I will ſay to the North, give up; and to the South, keep not back; bring my ſons from afar, and my daughters from the ends of the earth.*"

This portion was fulfilled in our experience, in ſome reſpects, by the capture of thoſe ſhips ſo ſoon after us, which appeared as given for our deliverance, and the people for our life, yet not at the expence of the blood of any individual, though from the additional number of priſoners it was thought prudent by our captors, at a council of war held, while I was in the Negro-prize-ſhip, to return to port, to which we now drew nigh, and in expectation of concluding our voyage retired to our diſmal apartments, in hopes of its being the *laſt time*.

CHAP. III.

Arrival in Rio de la Plata, and re-union of the Families on board the Duff. The Journal of the Females, containing particulars of their Voyage, after their separation from their huſbands in the Duff. Extracts from the Journal of Mr. P. Leveſque, when aboard of a prize.—Occurrences while in the harbour of Monte Video, &c. &c.

TUESDAY, MARCH 12th, 1799.

EARLY in the morning to the N. W. land appeared, and we entered Rio de la Plata; to the ſouth no land could poſſibly be diſcovered at the ſame time, as the boundaries of this river are ſo very extenſive. Two high rocks now appeared in ſight, while we ſtood looking with anxiety to diſcover the place where unerring Providence had deſignated this miſſion. Within two hours we perceived the high mountain of Monte Video. It is very lofty, has a ſtaff on the ſummit on which a flag is hoiſted when any ſhip appears in ſight, which was now flying, as the Buonaparte was viſible from ſo great an height.

As our fears were various reſpecting the ſafety of the females, and the iſſue of this dark providence, we eagerly longed for the moment of arrival, that we might learn their ſituation, and know in what manner

manner we ſhould be diſpoſed of in an enemy's land. But while our anxiety was increaſed the nearer we advanced, the attention of all on board was ſtrongly excited at diſcovering on our larboard bow, what at firſt we ſuppoſed to be a boat full of people, making towards the ſhip. After ſailing fully three miles, we perceived that it was the wreck of ſome veſſel, which had been but lately loſt on that coaſt. Again our fears were awakened leſt it ſhould prove the Duff, and that all our families were conſigned to a watery grave. Within fifteen minutes we paſſed it on our larboard ſide, when the French officers recogniſed it as part of the brig laden with ſalt, which they had captured the next after the Duff, aboard of which the kind, preventing providence of God, had, *through the forgetfulneſs of the French Captain*, hindered any of us from embarking on the night of her capture. The bows of this veſſel, with the bowſprit, and nearly the half of the hull, remained yet together, but the other part had been entirely ſeparated, and was no longer to be ſeen.

The ſight of this wreck made a deep impreſſion on our minds, and cauſed us "*to ſtand ſtill, and ſee the ſalvation of God*," which he had wrought in our behalf. We were all ſitting together in the boat, in midſhips, to keep out of the way of the Frenchmen, while they were working the ſhip, when our Captain came from aft, and calling to me, reminded me of my anxiety and concern at not going in that prize, agreeably to my expectation, and the promiſe

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of Carbonelle, obſerving that there was *a viſible diſplay of Divine Providence*, in my having been thus diſappointed. I truſt I was truly thankful to the munificent Beſtower of all our numerous mercies, for this additional proof of his kind attention ſo conſpicuouſly diſplayed this day, when each of us reflected, that on board of each of the other prizes one of us had been ſent, but in this none allowed to embark. "*Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy name give glory, for thy Mercy and for thy Truth's ſake,*" was now the language of every heart, which felt that ſalvation belonged to God. From this ſtriking inſtance of the preventing goodneſs of our covenant God, we took encouragement in entering this port, believing, that He who had delivered, would appear as our protector, and we ſhould find to our comfortable experience, that He was *ſtill* upon our ſide.

As we were on the point of entering the harbour of Monte Video, our hearts glowed with the expectation of ſeeing or hearing of the welfare of our wives and children, while each impatiently deſired to diſcover the Duff, as the very ſight of her would convince us of their ſafe arrival, of which, from various circumſtances, we were induced frequently to doubt. But while this eager expectation continued, we received the painful command to go below to our wretched apartment, while the French prepared to ſalute the Spaniſh Governor of the Fort. However unpleaſant this order, recollecting that we were priſoners,

ſoners, we obeyed, in the hope of being ſpeedily delivered from this ſhip, or ſuffered to go upon deck.

We remained below while they fired their guns and moored the ſhip, during which time a boat came off, with the Spaniſh officers of Inſpection, accompanied by a perſon who ſpoke Engliſh. When this Gentleman came to the hatchway, enquiring for the Engliſh priſoners, we received the agreeable news that the *Duff was ſafely arrived, and all the women and children were well, yet ſtill aboard, and not aſhore, as we expected.* This welcome meſſenger likewiſe brought us ſome fruit, viz. apples, peaches, and melons, highly acceptable to us in our preſent ſituation, which we partook of with thankful hearts, while we received farther intelligence, which particularly claimed our attention.

The Spaniſh officer informed Captain Carbonelle, that *the Governor forbad him either to ſell his prizes or land his priſoners; adding, that he muſt leave this port at a ſet time, which would be granted, and then he muſt take all with him.* The French Captain and officers were greatly aſtoniſhed at this unfavourable reception, and inquired into the cauſes which had produced this ſudden alteration in their conduct. For when the Buonaparte had quitted this port only ſix weeks ago, the French had been allowed to land their priſoners, ſell their prizes, and Carbonelle was upon terms of the moſt intimate friendſhip with the Governor. But in the interval, previouſly to the arrival of the Duff, ſome miſunderſtanding had taken place

place aſhore, between ſome of the mariners, belonging to the Republican frigate, and the inhabitants of this port, when the Spaniards, from the keen deſire of reſenting the inſult lately offered by the French, before they knew any thing of the Duff, but merely that ſhe was a French prize, declared that *they poſitively would not condemn her, nor permit the priſoners to land.* This intelligence yielded us great conſolation, as we hoped that the Lord was working out our deliverance in a way we knew not; that the Frenchmen, not having permiſſion to ſell our ſhip, would be glad to let *our* Captain have her in exchange for bills upon the Society, rather than run the riſk of taking her to Europe, and *thus* there was ſtill ſome probability that the Miſſion might be proſecuted.

After the ſhip was properly ſecured, and the ſails unbent, we were allowed to come on deck, when we ſaw, at ſome diſtance, our ſhip the Duff lying at anchor, the turnings ſpread over the quarter-deck, all her top-maſt ſtruck, and the Engliſh enſign flying reverſed. The ſight of which made a more powerful impreſſion on my mind than of any flag I had ever beheld, while the Spaniſh colours were diſplayed on high aboard moſt ſhips in the harbour, the French turned upſide down over the quarter of the Buonaparte.

We ſoon made enquiry, whether or not permiſſion could be granted for thoſe amongſt us, who were married, to go aboard the Duff, but could not obtain any ſatisfactory anſwer. The French Captain went

went aſhore with the Spaniſh officers to the Spaniſh Governor for farther inſtructions, while we waited his return to know what orders he would receive, and whither we ſhould be conveyed.

In the afternoon, while our eyes were continually caſt upon the Duff, we obſerved a boat making towards us, which each concluded had once been our own, and we eagerly watched her, as ſhe approached, to diſcover if any belonging to us were amongſt the crew. Two of my children, Martha and John, with brother Jones's daughter Mary, we now diſcovered with ſome French officers and brother Leveſque. As this was the firſt ſight of them from the night of our capture, I could ſcarcely ſuppreſs my impatience till they were brought alongſide; and when they entered the ſhip, and I claſped them both in my arms, my feelings overcame me, and can better be conceived by an affectionate parent than deſcribed by my pen. A mingled feeling of joy and ſorrow took poſſeſſion of my breaſt when I ſaw them again in ſafety, though in the hands of ſtrangers, as little priſoners of war.

Our Captain, each miſſionary and ſeaman ſtood ready to receive and embrace the little ones, as they came on board, while the French officers, who appeared not to be unaffected ſpectators, informed me that if they wanted any thing which was aboard, they ſhould have it, and in the mean time different ſorts of fruit were put into their hands. After an interview which laſted for an hour, they were called to re-enter the boat and return, when Martha preſſingly intreated

me to come to her mother, or her mother would come to me; but a ſtranger to my feelings, ſhe knew not the ſorrow that filled my heart, from the certainty that it would not be granted. They entered the boat and returned to the Duff; but this interview in which brother Jones and I were more particularly intereſted, will dwell long in our remembrance. Brother Leveſque confirmed the intelligence of the ſafety of our wives, and the kind treatment which they had received, afforded us great ſatisfaction.

In the evening Captain Carbonelle returned aboard, and was immediately ſurrounded by his officers, impatient to know what orders he had received from the Governor, the particulars of which we could not fully learn, but from their appearing to be much diſſatisfied with the Captain's report, we concluded that the orders were unfavourable to their intereſt. No further ſatisfaction was given us this night reſpecting our removal to the Duff, and once more we retired to our miſerable dungeon; but as the ſhip was at anchor, and nearly half unrigged, we were not confined ſo cloſely as before.

Wedneſday, March 13th. Early this morning I got upon deck, intending with brother Jones to make application to Carbonelle for permiſſion to join our families, but was prevented by the welcome intelligence received from Captain Robſon, who informed me that Carbonelle had already granted the requeſt, that all the married brethren were to go this day, that leave was given to take a cook to dreſs our victuals,

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after the fashion of our country, and that the French Captain would give money to supply us with what we wanted, I was happy to receive this information, and glad to communicate it to the Brethren, knowing the pleasure it would yield them. At Captain Robson's request, we agreed to take our ship's steward as cook; then having washed, we were ready, and waited for the arrival of that moment when we should leave this prison, and re-enter our lost ship, aboard which the Captain informed us we were to remain, until further orders were received from the Vice-roi.

At 10 A. M. we quitted the Buonaparte, and went into the boat. It was a wet morning, so that after we entered, with the heavy showers of rain, and the sea which at the time run high, we were thoroughly drenched before we reached the Duff; but the pleasurable sensation, yielded by the mere contemplation of the re-union which was to take place, banished every other from our minds. In consequence of the heavy shower there was not even an officer upon deck when we got alongside; so that we soon ascended, and were below between decks, before our wives were apprized that we were aboard. Each, with a degree of velocity easily conceivable, hastened to his partner, while every heart, eye, and voice were most sensibly affected. The universal joy and pleasure which reigned amongst us, who, after being separated by the sword of war upwards of 1000 miles on the great deep, in situations unknown to each other, were now re-united on

the 22d day after our ſeparation, can be fully underſtood only by us, who enjoyed this happy meeting—a meeting of ſo general a nature can ſcarcely be traced, where each individual was equally intereſted. (Pſa. cxxvi. 1,) "*When the Lord turned again the captivity of Zion, then were we like them that dream, then were our mouths filled with laughter, and our tongues with praiſe.*"

After we had in part overcome the tender feelings of our firſt interview, we ſhifted, a meaſure not only neceſſary from our being wet, but alſo from our being more or leſs contaminated with the dirt and vermin of our old priſon. We now felt more comfortable, and returned a tribute of praiſe to our Sovereign Protector for our preſervation while ſeparated, and re-union in this ſhip. When we heard the manner of their treatment, from the painful moment of parting, when we underſtood that our God had done more for them in mercy, that we had ever aſked or thought, and that all glory was due to his matchleſs name, the united declaration was, "*The Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad.*"

The unmarried brethren, left in the Buonaparte next claimed our attention. For though they were benefited by our removal, in having more room, they were in a wretched ſtate in reſpect to the things of this life. They were in want of knives with which they might eat their food, and ſome ſort of veſſels to contain their drink; beſides the greateſt number wanted even a ſhirt with which they might ſhift. Two

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or three knives, a razor, a few tin pots, &c. with a ſhirt or two, were therefore collected, and Dr. Turner obtained liberty to convey them to the brethren. Both his perſonal appearance and the neceſſaries which he brought were very acceptable, and after ſpending ſome comfortable minutes with them in their bondage, he returned to the Duff.

We now learned from our wives, that from the time we left them on the night of capture, they, as it was naturally to be expected, were much affected at our being thus torn from them in one hour, and they in the hands of political enemies, beholding a ſtrange people, and hearing nothing but ſtrange tongues.—Recovering themſelves however, in a ſmall meaſure, each of them took poſſeſſion of her own cabin-door, while the fluttered mind wandered alternately from hope to fear. The confuſion alſo and ſtrange noiſe which enſued from the Frenchmen's putting the ſhip under their government, gave riſe to ſeveral conjectures reſpecting her ſafety. A French officer, with a ſailor, came down, and went round to each cabin, putting his ſword under the bed-places, to know if any men had been ſecreted there, but otherwiſe behaved with the utmoſt politeneſs and reſpect. The children yet continued aſleep, and knew nothing of what had happened. When the officer entered Mr. Jones's and my cabin, he was ſhewn the children, and being fully ſatisfied that no man was concealed, he returned on deck, after poſting a ſentinel at the hatchway to prevent any from going below. The females yet retained their

their births, without being in the leaſt moleſted, and the officer again came down and ſeated himſelf on a bag of bread, which we had left in midſhips. He appeared rather concerned, and for a ſhort time remained ſilent. Emboldened by the decent manner in which he conducted himſelf, they took the liberty of aſking ſome queſtions, as what o'clock it was? when their huſbands would return? &c. which were anſwered by the ſailor who was a Spaniard, ſpoke a little broken Engliſh, and acted as a kind of interpreter, but in ſuch a manner as hardly to be underſtood. Some other queſtions were exchanged, as what cargo was on board? and others of a ſimilar nature, but little information was obtained on either ſide.

On the return of Dr. Turner to the Duff, when ſent by Captain Carbonelle, as we before mentioned, the officer, whoſe name was Bezzard, came down again, informed them that "one Engliſh Doctor was come," and aſked if any were ſick, giving them to underſtand as well as he could, that "if they wanted any thing he could get at, they ſhould have it." The welcome news of our brother's return were ſcarcely underſtood by any, but the moment he made his appearance below, it diffuſed gladneſs and joy amongſt the whole company of females.

Here as the minutes recorded by Brother Turner will beſt deſcribe the ſituation of the females during the period of ſeparation, I inſert the following with which I have been favoured by him:

"Upon my return to the Duff," ſays Brother Turner,

Turner, "the ſituation in which I found the females may eaſily be conceived by every perſon of ſenſibility. My appearance among them was apparently as refreſhing as the cooling water to the weary traveller in the parched deſarts of Arabia. Every tongue was ready to aſk, and every ear ready to hear, what was become of, and what likely to be the fate of their partners, together with the reſt of the Miſſionaries.

"The ſudden conſternation which had ſeized me from the change of ſituation, and the ſcenes which I was called to witneſs, almoſt deprived me of the power of thought, with reſpect to what was to become of us, or whither we were to be conveyed; ſo that my information upon this head was very ſcanty. I had, while returning from the Buonaparte to the Duff, enquired of the men in the boat whither we ſhould be taken, and with favourable winds how ſoon we ſhould arrive?" In anſwer to theſe enquiries, I received the information that the place of our deſtination was a Spaniſh town, called Monte Video, upon the River de la Plata, in the province of Paraguay, South America, and that it would be about ſeven days before we ſhould arrive, when we ſhould all meet again. This information I communicated to the females, and it was in ſome meaſure adding ſorrow to ſorrow, as they were all cheriſhing the fond expectation, that the revolving ſun would return unto them the beloved partners of their lives. But, bleſſed be God! he lays no more upon his people than what he enables them to bear. This additional ſhock to their feelings was

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born with a fortitude and reſignation to the will of God, becoming their chriſtian profeſſion.

"After this, we thought it highly neceſſary, by fervent prayer, to commit ourſelves into the hands of that God who alone is able to keep us, and to implore his protection and grace to make us ſubmiſſive to his divine will, as well as to keep us from murmuring at his dealings towards us. Bleſſed be the Lord! I truſt that our prayers that evening came up with acceptance before his throne, and that agreeably to the faithfulneſs of his promiſes, before calling upon him, he anſwered, and while calling he heard. Though none ſeemed inclined to venture to ſleep, fearful leſt the depredations going on in every other quarter of the ſhip ſhould ſpeedily extend to their apartments, yet the mind ſeemed more compoſed than it might have been expected.

"About three o'clock in the morning, Monſ. Bezzard, the ſecond officer of the Duff, (now a French prize,) came down between decks, the place aſſigned for the married people. He ſeemed, by his countenance, and the few broken ſpeeches in Engliſh which he was able to utter, to manifeſt the greateſt ſympathy for our ſituation. He aſſured us that we were completely ſecured from the plunder of the ſeamen, as none would ever be permitted to come below, unleſs when accompanied by one of the officers. He enquired if we did not intend going to bed, but as I have already mentioned, none ſeemed diſpoſed to do it, nor did we conſider it as prudent that all ſhould

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in such a situation. The returning morning brought fresh pangs of sorrow to our hearts. Le Grand Buonaparte, which we all fondly hoped would accompany us, was now beheld steering a course directly opposite to our's, and already at a considerable distance. Upon enquiring into the reason of a measure so very unexpected, we learned that she was to continue cruizing upon the coast, until she had captured such a number of prizes as to render it necessary for her to return, and that we ourselves were going direct for Monte Video. A variety of things now occurred to render the mind distressed. The chance of an engagement was accompanied by a variety of fears; they might be killed, or the ship taken, and carried nobody knew whither, and Unbelief said, "I shall never more behold the dear partner of my life." But while on the one hand anxiety seemed to be increasing upon us, on the other we hoped that we should have to sing of mercy as well as of judgment. The French officers seemed to shew us every mark of attention, and to commiserate our situation, and the feelings which a survey of it excited.

"This morning we were under some doubts, whether we should have our public family prayer, or whether it would be more prudent for each individual to pray in secret. It was the unanimous opinion that we ought not to omit this incumbent duty, though some thought we had better request permission from the Captain; but as our only interpreter was a Spaniard, who spoke very bad English, we apprehended it would be im-

poſſible to make them comprehend our meaning: we therefore determined to have prayers, without ſaying any thing to them about it, and if they ſhould detect us at this exerciſe, and bid us deſiſt, it would then be full time for us to give over, but till that period it was our indiſpenſible duty to proceed.

"At one of theſe morning exerciſes, the Frenchmen wanting ſomething out of the hold, came down upon us rather unexpectedly, but the officer who accompanied the men ſeeing us upon our knees, and of courſe gueſſing our employment, made the men retire until we had finiſhed. It was no ſmall alleviation to our diſtreſsful feelings, to find that in the worſt of circumſtances into which the Lord had ever brought us, we were not deprived of ſocially worſhipping our God. We now went on in the work of the Lord, with comfort and boldneſs.

"As night approached, we began to deem it abſolutely neceſſary that ſome ſhould keep watch till the return of light, ſo as to give the alarm, if the ſeamen ſhould attempt to come below; and our night-watches were regulated in the following manner, which continued unaltered until the joining together of the ſeparated partners, viz —'That two or three of the females ſhould ſit up till twelve o'clock, afterwards I, and occaſionally others, ſhould watch till four in the morning, when the remainder ſhould get up, and continue watching until the uſual time of riſing'

"The firſt ſabbath after our capture preſented to our view a very different ſcene from any we had viewed

ed before: we had hitherto been accuſtomed to ſee our ſhip's company laying aſide every work but the abſolute neceſſary duty of the ſhip, and attending the ordinances of divine worſhip in a clean and decent manner; but now it appeared as if ſatan had inſtigated them to a work which would prevent us from obſerving our ſabbath in the way to which we had both been accuſtomed and earneſtly deſired. They began to fill ſome empty water caſks with ſalt water for the better balancing the ſhip. But obſerving there were ſome difference with reſpect to our dreſs, in its being neater and cleaner than on other days, and perceiving the females not engaged as uſual, in ſewing or cooking, for we cooked the Sunday's proviſion on the Saturday, and as they had before beheld us at our religious exerciſe while in the fore-part of the ſhip, they were led to ſuppoſe that it was ſome religious day, and immediately aſked if it was our ſabbath. When they were anſwered in the affirmative, about ten o'clock they gave up their work in the hold, and left us in quietneſs to proſecute our religious duties. When we ſaw this we could not but admire the power of reſtraining grace, that even where it does not convert, can make all men ſubſervient to its ſovereign influence. In our worſhip this day we introduced ſinging, which we had not done before: this was rather a novelty to the French; but though it appeared to rivet their attention, it did not excite the leaſt ridicule, in ſo far as we could diſcover. We ſpent both parts of the day in reading the word of God, in

prayer and in praiſe; and we truſt the Divine preſence was evidently among us, and have reaſon to bleſs his holy name for that grace which enabled us to perſevere in the good work of the Lord with boldneſs, in the preſence of his and our enemies.

" On the following day, Monday 25th, the wind blew rather hard, in conſequence of which, moſt of the females were indiſpoſed. The attention diſplayed on this occaſion by the French officers was truly remarkable. Every thing which they could poſſibly procure, and which was thought in any way calculated to remove their ſickneſs, was cheerfully given us. This circumſtance was another ſubſtantial proof that we were under the peculiar protection of that God, of whom it is thus written, '*Surely God is good unto Iſrael*'; and we could individually adopt the language of David, '*Come magnify the Lord with me, let us exalt his name together.*'

" On Saturday, March 2d, about four o'clock in the afternoon, we came to anchor in Monte Video Bay, after a voyage of upwards of 1000 miles from the place of our captivity, and in eleven days from that period. During this time, we had, through the goodneſs of God, in general enjoyed a pretty good ſtate of health. Mrs. Hill was at times very much afflicted with ſickneſs, and Mrs. Hawkins a good deal overcome with the affliction laid upon her in being ſeparated from her huſband. From the time of our capture till our arrival in this harbour, we experienced the kindeſt treatment from our captors, and the greateſt decency and

and decorum was ſhewn, on the part of the officers, towards our females. So great was the attention of theſe officers towards us, that when any of the live ſtock (remaining on board when the capture took place) was killed, we always were permitted to have the firſt choice before either themſelves or the ſeamen. Upon our arrival in harbour we were immediately ſupplied with apples, pears, peaches, figs, and melons, which, conſidering the time we had been at ſea, were a moſt delicious repaſt. Some, however, from making too free an uſe of them, ſoon began to feel the bad effect of this indulgence on the conſtitution, which brought them very low, in particular, Mrs. Hawkins; I alſo experienced the hurtful effects of them. Freſh anxieties began now to preſent themſelves to our view. Our expectation that we ſhould be put on ſhore, among a people of whom we entertained the moſt dreadful ideas, operated very powerfully upon our minds. During our voyage we had been careful in making every enquiry in our power, with reſpect to our deſtination, after our arrival in port, and were informed that we ſhould not be made priſoners, but live in a great houſe appropriated for the dwelling of captives. We had now experienced the attention and liberality of the Frenchmen, and we wiſhed ſtill to be under their protection, rather than that of thoſe who were ſtrangers unto us. But though we could not diſpoſe of ourſelves, yet in God was our hope. He had hitherto been unto us more than our thoughts could have conceived. He had delivered,

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and we truſted he would yet deliver. That our hope was not groundleſs will be found in the ſequel of this narrative.

" March 3d, (Lord's day.) About ten o'clock this morning, a King's boat came off for the purpoſe of conveying me on ſhore to the governor. I was attended to the governor's houſe by a ſoldier. On my entering the room, I was met by a very good-looking man, who accoſted me in very good Engliſh, and without obſerving thoſe *etiquettes* of politeneſs which are cuſtomary in England, of aſking me in and begging that I would be ſeated, continued to converſe with me chiefly upon the object of our voyage, the number of our company, by whom we were ſent out, the ſtate of politics at the time of our leaving England, and whether we had any Engliſh newſpapers on board. To all theſe queſtions I returned ſuch anſwers as, conſiſtently with truth, the duty which I owed my country, and the cauſe in which I had embarked, required; after which, I was given to underſtand that he had done with me. Until this moment I had converſed with him as an officer of the governor's houſehold, and one who, I ſuppoſed, would be my interpreter to him; but in being thus diſmiſſed, I was convinced that it muſt be the governor himſelf. I therefore in my turn interrogated him, in regard to the proviſion made for us, as priſoners, and to whom we were to apply for it. He anſwered that the only thing he had to do with us was to grant permiſſion for our coming on ſhore, which he had already done, but

but with reſpect to our ſupport, we were to receive that from the French.

" After leaving him, I called on a Mr. Campbell, an American Gentleman, reſident here, who ſoon after our arrival in the harbour paſſed under the Duff's ſide, and ſeeing one of our boys on deck, was led to enquire who we were, and then gave his addreſs, ſaying, that when any of us came on ſhore, he ſhould be glad to ſee us. He behaved with the greateſt politeneſs, and after making the enquiries natural to every one, reſpecting us, promiſed to aſſiſt us as much as lay in his power, and requeſted that as often as we came on ſhore we ſhould call on him.

" As it was the ſabbath, I was unwilling to make a longer ſtay than what ſeemed to be neceſſary for our ſituation; therefore I returned on board the Duff, having found, on my going down to the beach, the boat in which I came, waiting to convey me back again. While on ſhore, I was met and interrogated by ſeveral of thoſe unhappy females who were either convicts or belonged to the Lady Shore; but deeming it neceſſary for our own credit to avoid noticing them as much as poſſible, I put no more queſtions to them, but what, in my opinion, were requiſite for our own ſatisfaction to know reſpecting the place. The accounts received upon this head were upon the whole ſatisfactory.

" In the afternoon, the French captain informed me that he was going on ſhore for the purpoſe of ſeeking out an houſe in which the females might reſide,

fide, and that if I chofe, I might accompany him. Though I was not fond of fpending the fabbath in this manner, I thought that if I could by going be anywife ferviceable in procuring for them a comfortable abode, it was undoubtedly my duty to do fo. From thefe conſiderations I attended the captain. We went to the houſe of the French agent, and ſoon after ſet off in his coach and four, accompanied by the French captain, Spaniſh and French agents, an American captain, and an officer of the ſame country, belonging to the Republican. We went to an houſe belonging to the French agent, about a mile from the town. The houſe conſiſted of three rooms, and from its retired ſituation, on account of its diſtance from the town, I thought it very well ſuited for us. It was therefore agreed that we ſhould have it; but, on returning to town, it was ſuggeſted that from being ſo retired, we might be in danger of being attacked by the natives, and plundered, if not murdered. On theſe conſiderations it was given up, and one in town ſearched out and agreed upon. About ſeven o'clock I returned to the Duff, after drinking tea on board the Diligence, American brig (afterwards ſold to the Spaniards) and ſpending a moſt uncomfortable and unpleaſant ſabbath.

" In the courſe of this day I met with ſeveral American gentlemen, captains of veſſels, from whom I hoped we ſhould experience friendſhip if needed. Upon my getting on board, I found my female friends had been ſomewhat uneaſy at my abſence; but in a little

little they were highly entertained at the deſcription I had to give them of the harneſs of the horſes and the livery of the poſtillions, which to one who had been accuſtomed to ſee the ſplendid equipages that roll through the ſtreets of London, was truly laughable, inaſmuch as it carried in it the greateſt burleſque on grandeur. The coach itſelf was of European make, and by no means deſpicable. But the harneſs of the horſes amounted to little better than the harneſs of aſſes, in the ſand-carts in our metropolis, and the livery of the poſtillion was one of our ſoldiers' coats, which had been taken out of the Lady Shore.

"On Tueſday the 5th, an order came for us to quit the ſhip and go on ſhore, which was not very pleaſant to us for reaſons ſtated above; but juſt as we were ready to go, the order was countermanded, and we were now to ſtop until an order was obtained from the Vice roi of the province. We all regarded this incident as a ſingular interference of Divine Providence in our behalf, and for which, I truſt, we felt a glow of gratitude to that Supreme Being who ever rules all things for good. The reaſons for our being ordered to remain on board, we did not at this time underſtand, but we learned afterwards it was in conſequence of ſome miſunderſtanding between the French and the Spaniſh governor.

"Thurſday, 7th. This morning we received the account of a Portugueſe veſſel, a prize to the Buonaparte, being loſt on the Engliſh Bank, coming up the river De la Plata. This was ſomewhat diſtreſſing

unto us, inasmuch as we apprehended that some of our brethren might have been on board, and probably found a watery grave. The French captain assured us that none of our people were in her, as it was a thing never permitted, but which we afterwards learned was only prevented from her being captured in the night. About 11 A.M. an American Negro sailor belonging to the Buonaparte, and one of the crew of the above ship, came alongside the Duff, but was neither permitted to come on board nor remain alongside. While near the ship he gave us the following particulars concerning our brethren:—1st. that none were in the above ship; 2dly. that at the time of their leaving the Buonaparte (13 days ago) they were all well; 3dly. a report prevailed in the ship that all the prisoners on board would be put on shore at Rio de Janeiro. To hear the two first particulars was no small comfort, but the latter did not a little distress us, which the French captain perceiving, and enquiring into the cause, went immediately on shore for the purpose of seeing the captain of the above ship, and in the evening returning on board the Duff, accompanied by him, he assured us that the report of the sailor was groundless: he further flattered us with the hopes of soon seeing our brethren, which though it happened to be realized, was now spoken without any certainty.

"Lord's-day, 10th. On account of being obliged to attend upon secular affairs the last sabbath, we had no worship in the middle of the day; but, blessed be God,

God, this ſabbath, though not as in days and months that are paſt, we ſpent in reading the word of God, in prayer and in praiſe. About this time, ſeveral of our females and I were indiſpoſed, from a cauſe already mentioned, the abundance of fruit. Brother Gregory's child, William, was alſo much indiſpoſed, with ſomething of the appearance of the jaundice, which however went off in a few days.

" 11th. This day in a Portugueſe brig, prize to the Buonaparte, our brother P. Leveſque arrived, and brought a few letters from the reſt of the brethren. In the afternoon he was permitted to come on board the Duff and remain there. The pleaſure and ſatiſfaction we all felt at receiving him as an earneſt of the reſt, were ſuch as thoſe only who are united to each other in the bonds of the goſpel, and have been in ſimilar circumſtances, can feel; in the ſame manner as when I returned from the Buonaparte, though with more eager and earneſt deſire of ſatisfaction, increaſed by the long abſence, every tongue was ready to aſk, and every ear ready to hear, in what ſtate of health their partners were when he left the ſhip, and how ſoon we might expect to ſee them. Though our brother gave us the fulleſt aſſurance of their being in a good ſtate of health at the time of his departure, yet with reſpect to the time when we ſhould ſee them, he could not ſpeak poſitively, but from many circumſtances, he was confident it could not be long. The thing proved true, for the next day ſaw the long wiſhed-for ſhip ſafe into the port of Monte Video.

This ſight occaſioned a renewal of the ſame delightful ſenſations which we had experienced on the arrival of Brother Leveſque, but with this difference, that they were felt in a ſuperior degree, inaſmuch as we had reaſon to expect that we ſhould now be united to all our Brethren, an expectation which was not diſappointed."

The intelligence further received from the females, muſt here be continued, from the ſubſtance of which I underſtood that, although none of their births were given up to plunder, the cabin, the ſingle brethren, and the ſeamens' places were immediately ranſacked when the French took poſſeſſion of the Duff. Cheſts and boxes were broken open, and ſoon were they cloathed from head to foot in miſſionary apparel, for they made but a ſorry appearance before. This cauſed ſome concern to our wives as it did to us, who were compelled to behold in the Duff and Buonaparte theſe men wearing our property. Bibles and other books, frequently boxes that were ſcarcely half emptied, and whatever elſe appeared to be in their way, were thrown overboard, while they were in purſuit of thoſe articles of the greateſt value. And ſo deluded were theſe poor wretches, that many pounds worth of property was conſigned to the deep, either from ignorance of its worth, or want of ſufficient inveſtigation.

Early on Wedneſday morning, February 20th, the French officer and men came down between decks, opened the hatches to ſee what cargo was in the hold, and to procure ſome water which was wanted. All

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our water being expended but that on the ground tier, which was covered with goods, it was a long time before they could aſcertain where it was ſtowed. They aſked a number of times for information, but in conſequence of the different languages ſpoken, and the imperfection of the interpreter, little or no knowledge could be obtained. The boys were repeatedly queſtioned to that effect, and becauſe they were unable to make them underſtand, they threatened to throw them overboard, unleſs they told where the water could be got at. However, after a long ſearch and rummage in the hold, they found ſome at laſt, but it was with difficulty obtained.

As they opened the hatches, one man, who ſtood by the officer put twenty-four dollars into my wife's hand, who not knowing for what purpoſe it was depoſited, refuſed to receive it and laid it down; but two of her ſiſters, ſuppoſing it was given for the children, adviſed her to preſerve it till ſhe could know whether it was delivered for that purpoſe; but in a few days it was called for, when, after the man had counted, and found the number right, he told the officer, who politely returned her thanks for keeping it ſafe. This was probably ſome of the money which had been plundered from ſome cheſts on board.

They ſoon diſcovered that wines both red and white, with brandy, were on board, and immediately ſupplied the females with each ſort, and ſome hams from the cabin, one of which was early given them to prepare for dinner. And when they had ſurveyed the

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caſks of ſalt beef and pork on the decks, the officer ordered them to be thrown into the ſea. They knocked down the hog ſtye, and burned it with the cheſts and boxes they emptied, which was the only fuel they uſed during the voyage to Monte Video.

After a few days, the officer ſeeing ſome muſquets hanging up under the deck, came down, and requeſted that all fire-arms might be given up, all of which he received; but when my wife delivered mine, obſerving that it belonged to her huſband, he refuſed to take it with the reſt, ſo that it ſtill remained in my cabin.

The prize-maſter, whoſe name was Monſ. Riviere, was once commander of a ſquadron under the republic, but had been ſuſpended. He behaved alſo with the greateſt reſpect and politeneſs towards the females, which continued invariably throughout the voyage. Whatever proviſions they had brought from the Buonaparte were at their pleaſure, with a declaration that they had only to ſpeak for what they wanted, and if on board of the ſhip it was at their ſervice; and he came down daily to ſee that their table was well ſupplied. The children, in a particular manner, attracted the officers' attention, and their little perſons and actions drew forth repeated acts of kindneſs from day to day. Every poſſible indulgence was given them, and they took a pleaſure in gratifying all their requeſts. When ill, as two of mine were, the officer was continually ſending down to know of their welfare, and if any thing was wanted in his power to grant;

grant; and when they recovered, he manifeſted the peculiar pleaſure which he felt on the occaſion. My girl, Martha, was his little idol, and thoſe appeared to be his happieſt moments, when he was moſt indulged with her childiſh prattle. In ſhort, the conduct of both theſe French officers towards the women and children was ſuch, as ſcarcely to have been excelled by the moſt humane friend.

It muſt be confeſſed that this was a peculiar mark of the kindneſs of Divine Providence, that we had fallen into the hands of ſuch men who took the command of the ſhip Duff, who had both the will and the power to be kind in the day of diſtreſs. For whatever were their characters in other reſpects, or however infamous and abominable their profeſſion, I am bound in gratitude to ſay, that by the reſtraining grace of God they were conſtrained to act towards us with a degree of humanity and philanthropy, worthy of univerſal imitation. The Lord evidently fulfilled his own promiſe in our experience: "*Verily it ſhall be well with thy remnant, verily I will cauſe the enemy to entreat thee well in the time of evil, and in the time of affliction.*" And again, "*He made them alſo to be pitied of all thoſe that carried them captives.*" In their diviſion of the three watches for the night, they always burned candles, with which they were ſupplied from the cabin, and agreed that in the day no one female ſhould go upon deck by herſelf, nor yet altogether leave their apartments below. Theſe rules were ſtrictly neceſſary, even to protect their apparel from the private plunder of

of the ſeamen, againſt whom Monſ. Bezzard gave a caution, and pointing to their boxes, &c. between decks, told our wives *to take care and keep every thing as much as poſſible out of their way, for that the principles of French mariners were not good.* They therefore did as much as was in their power, yet, notwithſtanding the ſeamen found means to rob them, from two holes which had been cut during our voyage, in the fore-bulk-head, for the purpoſe of admitting air into Mrs. Hughes' and Mrs. Hawkins' cabins: thro' theſe they were detected in taking ſeveral articles of apparel, but were in future prevented. They appeared to be men poſſeſſed of the worſt of principles, and apt in the art of thieving; they ſeemed to take pleaſure in diſtreſſing thoſe whom they could not deſtroy, for a great part of the cloathing, which was taken out of the hold, was thrown overboard, and my partner ſaw ſome articles of her own apparel, with ſome of our bedding, and the childrens' bed, floating on the deep, which they had wantonly and wickedly caſt into it.

One evening a ſeaman came down between decks, and aſked for bread; of this the Captain was informed, who ſaid it was merely a pretext, he did not want bread. He entreated them to call him, if any offered to come down upon any pretext whatever, and ſent that night the French cabin boy to ſleep at the bottom of the ladder, ſolemnly charging him to alarm him. if any preſumed to come between decks.

While this officer was below at another time, the boatſwain

boatſwain came and aſked permiſſion to light his *ſagar* of tobacco, not knowing that he was near to hear him make the requeſt, which he did, and immediately run up to him, ſtruck him violently on the face, and abuſed him in the moſt opprobrious terms, expreſſing his ſurprize *that ſuch a ſcoundrel ſhould ſo inſult his character, as to take the liberty to aſk a lady to let him light his ſagar*, and was a long time before he was reconciled, and in any meaſure compoſed. The effect of this puniſhment, however, upon this man, was evidently very injurious to the females. He was one who, perhaps, was never ſurpaſſed by any in churliſhneſs. His countenance and conduct openly declared this to all who beheld him, and his implacable hatred and ſavage brutality were, on every occcaſion, manifeſted to us and our's; in every ſenſe he was an enemy, and I have not the ſmalleſt doubt, but it would have given him pleaſure to have been inſtrumental in ſhedding our blood.

That I may not charge this man with brutality, without adducing a convincing proof, I ſhall barely mention one which he manifeſted towards Mrs. Gregory. One day as ſhe was aſcending the ladder to go upon deck for the benefit of the air, when on the top, ſhe attempted to lay hold of the cable, to ſecure herſelf from the motion of the ſhip, which he ſtanding near diſcovered, and obſerving that none were near at the time, immediately ſeized and ſhook it violently, that ſhe might loſe her hold, and be thrown down the hatchway, from which it was with much

difficulty that ſhe eſcaped a dangerous fall. When her ſituation at this time is conſidered, expecting the critical moment of Nature's ſorrow, the effects of ſuch an accident might have been highly fatal, and the preventing goodneſs of an omnipreſent God, muſt be acknowledged in this, as in numerous inſtances, *who did not ſuffer the evil devices of man to come to paſs.*

Many incidents that occurred are worthy of our recollection, if not of my imparting to the public. But even in thoſe which I ſhall record, however brief the narrative, I truſt that it will be clearly ſeen that *goodneſs* and *mercy* have followed us, and though it may be even conjectured that our capture was an evidence of the Almighty's diſapprobation, and a token of his wrath, yet *with everlaſting kindneſs he hath had compaſſion on us*, and we are conſtrained to ſay, his mercies were new every morning, and great was his faithfulneſs.

I underſtood that on the Sunday, when Brother Turner went on ſhore, the females were in expectation of being removed the ſame day, and in the uncomfortable ſtate of ſuſpenſe, they were compelled to begin their preparations for the ſame. On the Tueſday all their things were packed up and got upon deck, to go in the boat, Mrs. Jones excepted, when the order for removal was countermanded, a circumſtance which occaſioned general ſatisfaction, as they had not yet received the ſmalleſt intelligence of our welfare. The report alluded to by Mr. Turner, of our being ſet aſhore at Rio Janeiro, cauſed our wives to think, and

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enquire if it was poſſible for them to travel over land to us. This information aroſe from Captain Carbonelle's having captured a fiſhing-boat, ſolely for the purpoſe of ſending all the Portugueſe priſoners on ſhore at that place, the day before I was removed to the ſlave ſhip, in which boat it was intended that ſome of us alſo ſhould have gone, but ſhe was unable to carry any more, and even ſcarcely them. The owner of her remonſtrated with the French againſt the poſſibility of her carrying ſo great a number, on his ſeeing the ſecond boatful about to enter, but was compelled to receive them. I, with others, who ſaw them enter, ſuppoſed it would be impoſſible for them to reach the ſhore, as they were upwards of twelve miles from the place, and it was nearly dark; however they all got ſafe, and the report had extended to our wives, by the means already noticed.

Brother Leveſque could give no account of this circumſtance, as it occurred two days after he had left the Buonaparte; but he furniſhed me with the general outlines of his voyage in the prize-ſhip, from the time he left the Buonaparte, on the 26th of February, till his arrival in the harbour of Monte Video, the day before us, of which the following extract is recorded.

"On entering this veſſel with my ſmall bundle, in which I ſuppoſed that I had taken two ſhirts, but now only one, as when I quitted the Buonaparte I lent the other to my brother, I ſat down on the quarter-deck and beheld the confuſion of the Portu-

gueſe priſoners, amongſt whom was an old prieſt, who ſeemed to be much indiſpoſed. This poor man came to me in a fit of trembling, and appeared to be labouring under great apprehenſions that he ſhould be put to death. I gave him to underſtand that I too was a priſoner, and refuſed to receive ſome things which were offered me.

" The captain aſked the French officer for ſome of his clothes, who in reply to the requeſt told him *to take the whole, only to be quick.* His clothes' cheſt was therefore got upon deck, ſo weighty, that it required four men to carry it, and lower it into the boat, and then he, with all the Portugueſe, four only excepted, were ſent on board of the Bonaparte.

" The officer now in poſſeſſion of this ſhip immediately ſhaped her courſe for Monte Video; but in the night it fell calm, and we had nearly run aſhore among the rocks to the north of Cape Frio. They let go the anchor in 45 fatham water, where we laid the remainder of the night. It is extremely dangerous for a ſhip to go aſhore on this coaſt, as ſhe would run againſt the rocks before her bottom touched; at the ſame time the rocks are ſo ſmooth and perpendicular, that it would be a matter of the greateſt difficulty for any crew in this ſituation to aſcend them. In the morning a ſlight breeze ſprung up from the land, and they cut her away, leaving the anchor and part of a new cable, and ſhaping their courſe to the appointed port.

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" The captain behaved with exceeding kindneſs towards me, told me that any thing which the veſſel afforded was at my ſervice, took me down into the cabin, and gave me the choice of four bed places, one of which I thankfully accepted ; I alſo lived with him, and had every temporal comfort which was neceſſary. But though I was not in the ſame ſituation as my brethren in the Buonaparte, deſtitute of ſufficient water to quench thirſt, and confined below, yet I felt painfully the want of a Chriſtian companion and my Bible, which I had left behind. The ſeparation from my partner preyed upon my mind, which I ſcarce knew how to engage otherwiſe. I received two books to read which were on board, and written in French, the Works of the Biſhop of Montpelier, and the Republican Lovers; but theſe gave me no ſatisfaction, as they approved of what I hated, and recommended what I reprobated.

" As I had not ſhifted myſelf ſince I left the Duff, a period of ten days, and was in ſome meaſure contaminated with dirt and vermin, I retired for that purpoſe, ſuppoſing I had a ſhirt, but found I had been miſtaken in my linen; I therefore put on my coat again, and went with my ſhirt in my hand upon deck to waſh it, which the captain obſerving, re-refuſed to ſuffer me, and gave me one with what elſe was neceſſary to keep me clean.

" My mind was yet uncomfortable and barren, which the Frenchmen would ſometimes perceive, and frequently pat me upon the back, ſaying, ' *Courage, Monſieur*

Monſieur Leveſque, *Courage*, and indeed did every thing in their power to make me comfortable.

" March 9th. Early in the morning we were in Rio de la Plata, but land could not be ſeen on either ſide. On ſounding, we found only three and an half fathom water, which looked thick and muddy. The captain greatly alarmed at our dangerous ſituation, knew not what to do or where he was. I went up to the maſt head and ſaw the rocks and breakers on the Engliſh Bank. Immediately I gave the alarm on deck, when the captain ran up, ſaw, and knew where he was. The veſſel was now put about, kept away, and went round the bank, when after ſpending many unhappy days, I reached the harbour of Monte Video, on Monday the 11th.

" I was moſtly on deck during the paſſage, and more eſpecially this day. From the cuſtom-boat officer I learned that the Duff had arrived, and ſoon we ran cloſe by and paſſed her. All the females were with brother Turner upon deck, who ſeeing me, called out, and a mutual ſalutation took place. Brother Turner ſoon came on board with a French officer, and I obtained liberty to quit the brig and go to the Duff.

" On entering her, when ſurrounded, I had enough to do to overcome my feelings, while tears guſhed from every eye, and the enquiry was, *what is become of my huſband, when and where did you leave him.* The children alſo clung to me with affecting enquiries about their fathers. I gave them every

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poſſible information, told them all were well, uſed every argument to encourage them, but reſerved to myſelf that information which, in my opinion, had a tendency to increaſe their unhappineſs, viz. the ſhort allowance of water on board of the Buonaparte, the diſtreſsful confinement during the night, and other circumſtances of a diſagreeable nature, giving them to hope that we ſhould ſpeedily meet again;" which expectation, as we have already ſeen, was fully gratified. Such is the ſubſtance of the information, which I was able to collect, reſpecting the particulars that occurred during our ſeparation, a review of which cauſed us to *ſing of mercy and judgment*, and to take encouragement, believing that we were yet under the ſame guardian protection which had never left nor forſaken us.

In ſurveying in my own mind the leadings of a gracious God in our captivity, and eſpecially in ſo far as it related to myſelf, I was led to contemplate another *viſible diſplay of Divine Providence*, manifeſted when the Buonaparte, though not deſignedly, purſued the prize-ſhip in which I was aboard, a circumſtance which had occaſioned my being taken out to join the Brethren, and with them re-unite with our families; for when we arrived at Monte Video there was no appearance nor news of this prize. The prize before alluded to being loſt, and the leaky ſtate of this one conſidered, the French were led to ſuppoſe that ſhould a gale of wind ariſe, ſhe would ſhare the ſame fate. The anxiety alſo of my wife's mind muſt have

have been great, if when all the other Brethren arrived I only had been wanting, who had been left at ſea in ſuch a ſituation, and ſhe exempted from participating of the general pleaſure of this happy meeting, while the certainty of the loſs of the other ſhip would have farther contributed to heighten the darkneſs of the ſcene. But, praiſed be the Lord! not one was left behind, but all brought to rejoice together.

How ſtrangely different now was the ſcene from that which the ſeveral days paſt had exhibited, when the pleaſurable ſenſations of our minds, ariſing from the conſciouſneſs of being aboard our own ſhip, and reſtored to the ſociety of our companions, gave us a little revival in our bondage, and we retired to our births, in hopes of enjoying a comfortable night of repoſe, yet ſtill continuing the watch; but the contraſt between our former and preſent ſituations was ſo great, that theſe hopes were diſappointed; ſtill, however, our comfort in this affliction was, that we could meditate on the change, and view it as a token of future good.

Thurſday, March 14. This being the firſt morning after our interview, I took my little ones to walk with me upon the quarter deck. When, although I was ſenſible of the difference between our ſtate in the Buonaparte and the Duff, yet I could not but be affected at the ſight of that deck where the children of Zion had ſo frequently aſſembled to rejoice in their King. How ſtriking the alteration which was now obſervable both in the ſhip and its poſſeſſors. The

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ſhip which we had left in full ſail was now nearly unrigged, the cabin poſſeſſed by the French officers, the quarter-deck by Spaniſh, and the forecaſtle by the mariners. While we, in the midſt of them, yet retained our births only as a temporary tent, not in the character of miſſionaries, but of priſoners, who were waiting the order for removal, but whither we knew not; but from the information given us we learned, that it would either be ſomewhere on ſhore or on board of ſome other ſhip in the river.

Our captain, officers, ſeamen, and ſingle brethren, were yet detained in the privateer, and they, with us, all in an enemy's harbour. I could not but adopt here the language of ſcripture, "*O how unſearchable are his judgments, and his ways paſt finding out.*"

Captain Carbonelle came ſeveral times on board of the Duff, and proved himſelf to be a man of ſympathetic feeling. He informed us that he had pleaded much with the Governor to grant us permiſſion for being removed on ſhore, where we ſhould be much more comfortable, particularly Mrs. Jones and Mrs. Gregory, for whom he was under great apprehenſions, leſt they ſhould be delivered on board of the ſhip, when their ſituation might be rendered ſo much the more eligible on ſhore. He apologized one day as he was about to leave the ſhip, for omitting to go down between decks to ſee our wives and children, obſerving that, *he hoped we would excuſe his not going down to ſee the ladies, as the ſcene overpowered his feelings*; and he frequently told us, that *it was one bad day for him as*

well as for us when he took the Duff; and that, *if he had only to consult himself, our ship and property should soon be surrendered into our possession.*

The officer, with the prize-captain, anxiously wished to inspect the cargo of the Duff, but Carbonelle was never able to consent while we remained on board, and said, that their rummaging the hold while the females were present would be so great a trial for them to behold, that even he himself could not bear to be present on such an occasion. This Frenchman, so remarkably humane for the captain of a privateer, was certainly a man who deservedly excited admiration. His unparalleled attention and care displayed towards the women and children, were such as made him more resemble a sincere friend than an enemy, or, to use the language of inspiration, "*A brother born for adversity.*"

I am persuaded that all the glory should be given to God, to whom I wish to ascribe the praise, believing that the hearts of all men are in his hands, and that he can turn them as seemeth good in his sight, of which we received the most convincing proofs from day to day.

The brethren on board of the Buonaparte yet laboured under some difficulties, from which we were now exempted. They were not, indeed, confined as before, had fresh meat and new bread every day; and although no permission was given by the Spanish Governor for any to go on shore, yet the French officer did not prevent them, by a few together, going in the boat, on condition that they should return in the evening;

evening; a privilege of which several daily availed themselves.

The number being now increased by the re-union of the families in the Duff, and a double quantity of provisions required for the supply of our table, some of those dainties which had been brought for the females ceased to be given; but we were abundantly supplied every day with the following bill of fare:—Good soft bread, fresh beef, three times more than we could eat, three bottles of brandy, or more, if wanted, vegetables of different sorts, about two shillings worth (in English money) of milk in the morning, and fruits after dinner, apples, peaches, figs, melons, with cheese, tea, sugar, &c. when required. We also caught a great number of small fish alongside, with some small hooks we had preserved, which were very good and acceptable, so that we had no just reason to complain, but rather to be thankful.

We held our morning and evening family worship in midships, without meeting with any interruption whatever, though we could not assemble as before on our quarter-deck; and sometimes the Spanish officers would beat the hatchway to view our manner, to which they were perfect strangers, but they never manifested dissatisfaction; and although soon after we got on board we obtained the appellation of *Lutheran Padre*, yet early one morning one of those men informed Brother Levesque, that *he had witnessed our devotion on the last evening, and understood several things that were spoken, which were very good.*

We were frequently viſited by ſeveral Spaniſh Gentlemen, who always treated us with great reſpect. We ſuppoſed that ſome came on board for the purpoſe of making private bargains with the French officers for ſome part of the property, which was not ſuffered to be publicly ſold, as they frequently got out of the hold in the day a quantity of goods, which they ſmuggled on ſhore during the night; and, I ſuppoſe, a boat never left the ſhip without a bundle of property, which we ſaw daily taken to the ſhore, ſome of which we frequently diſcovered to be a part of our own apparel, but we appeared to take but little notice of the tranſaction, and remained ſilent. We knew in what character we now ſtood, which was ſufficient to compel us to be ſubmiſſive to whatever might be the pleaſure of our captors in this reſpect.

Captain Robſon was never again permitted to enter the Duff, although he had been encouraged to hope for this indulgence; but our chief mate, Mr. Smith, was once allowed: he came one afternoon with ſome French officers, and when he got on board received a moſt hearty welcome from all our company. Upon this occaſion we all aſſembled in the cabin with the French officers, and partook of a liberal refreſhment, ſupplied by the officers on board. Mr. Smith could not conceal his feelings, which were viſible in his countenance, at obſerving the officer who poſſeſſed the cabin cloathed in his own apparel. After ſpending nearly two hours with mingled feelings of pain and pleaſure, Mr. Smith was retaken to the Buonaparte.

In

In the harbour lay at anchor the convict ship, Lady Jane Shore, of London, bound to New South Wales with females, which had been brought into this port by part of her crew, who mutinied, and murdered the captain, &c. (of which more hereafter). I was informed on the first day of our arrival, that these women, when the Duff first came in, were of much prejudice to our wives, as it was supposed, and on shore reported, that both the Duff and females on board were of the same description, against whom the chief of the people, for reasons which I shall notice in another place, were now prejudiced and dissatisfied. One of these unhappy women, when the Duff anchored, came on board to see our wives; but on discovering what she was, none, for their own character's sake, would hold any farther conversation with her; so that meeting with no encouragement she went on shore, and returned no more. I trust that it required no vindication on our part, and that a multitude of words was wholly unnecessary to convince strangers that the character of our females was in every respect widely different from their's; for, in a few days, the inhabitants were induced to regard them in a very different manner.

16th. This day, to the great satisfaction of the French, the negro prize-ship, from which I was taken, arrived safe in the harbour, when the second officer of her came on board the Duff to see the officers there, and entering into the cabin sent for me. He expressed the great pleasure that he felt, at beholding

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me re-united to my family, and the friendſhip which he bore towards me. When the boat returned, I went in her to ſee the prize-captain, and my former miſerable negro companions: the captain congratulated me on my arrival in the ſame manner as the other had done, and expreſſed his joy at having been preſerved in ſuch unpleaſant circumſtances, and brought ſafely to port, where he now beheld me in the ſame comfortable ſituation.

Perhaps, before I cloſe the account of this firſt week of our reſtoration, it may not be improper to notice what, in my opinion, clears up one part of this dark providence, and confirms the veracity of God's word: "*We know that all things work together for good to them that love God, to them who are the called, according to his purpoſe.*" In our capture we conſidered the painful ſeparation that took place as one of the heavieſt trials, likely to prove their diſſolution; but now we beheld each other reſtored again in health, and perceived that even this event had been productive of ſubſtantial good; for if they had been taken with us on board of the Buonaparte, it was ſcarcely poſſible, humanly ſpeaking, that they could have ſurvived. We now beheld them in health and ſafety, and united in ſaying, "*Let God be glorified.*"

17th. This was the fourth Sunday of our captivity; we agreed to hold our worſhip, as originally, on the Lord's-day, once more on board of our loſt ſhip, which we did between decks morning and afternoon; we alſo ſang this day, which, from the time of our capture,

ture, had been hitherto omitted. Brother Hill and I preached for the laſt time in the Duff, when that portion of ſcripture which I ſelected for the occaſion, was, I believe, happily fulfilled in our experience :— Pſalm cii. 17, &c. " *He will regard the prayer of the deſtitute, and not deſpiſe their prayer. This ſhall be written for the generation to come, and the people which ſhall be created ſhall praiſe the Lord. For he hath looked down from the height of his ſanctuary; from heaven did the Lord behold the earth, to hear the groaning of the priſoner, to looſe thoſe that are appointed to die.*"

While on board of the Buonaparte the 85th Pſalm was frequently peruſed by ſeveral of the brethren and me, in the pleaſing hope that, when we were re-united to our families, we ſhould be able to ſing it as applicable to our ſtate, and an agreement was made to this effect, which we fulfilled on this occaſion.

" Lord, thou haſt call'd thy grace to mind,
Thou haſt revers'd our heavy doom;
So God forgave, when Iſrael ſinn'd,
And brought his wand'ring captives home.

Thou haſt begun to ſet us free,
And made thy fierceſt wrath abate;
Now let our hearts be tun'd to thee,
And thy ſalvation be complete.

Revive our dying graces, Lord,
And let thy ſaints in thee rejoice;
Make known thy truth, fulfil thy word,
We wait for praiſe to tune our voice.

We wait to hear what God will ſay,
He'll ſpeak and give his children peace;
But let them run no more aſtray,
Leſt his returning wrath increaſe."

Thus

Thus far we could experimentally unite in ſinging this Pſalm: we knew that our God had ſo far wrought in our behalf as to begin to ſet us free, by liberating us from our confined ſituation in the Buonaparte, and had again brought us together in this ſhip: and we now waited to hear what the Lord would ſpeak in his providence, to complete the deliverance already begun.

19th. Two of my brethren and I went on ſhore, and had a ſlight view of the town for a ſhort time; we returned again on board, without meeting with any interruption from the inhabitants.

Captain Robſon, ſtill on board of the Buonaparte, being encouraged to hope that the Duff, or ſome other veſſel, would be reſtored to him for bills on the Society, wrote a letter, which was brought on board the Duff for our anſwer. It contained the information that, "not being permitted to ſee us, or meet together, he wiſhed to communicate the pleaſure he felt, in hoping that Providence would yet open a door, either by reſtoring our ſhip or providing another, in which he believed it was his duty to proſecute the Miſſion, and wiſhed to know the ſentiments of every Miſſionary, if he believed it was his duty alſo to go forward in our reduced ſtate, and wait for a ſupply at the South Sea Iſlands."

We therefore held a meeting to conſider the purport of this letter, and return ſuch an anſwer as might aſſiſt our captain to come to ſome deciſion from a knowledge of our ſentiments, if an opportunity was preſented of our procuring the ſhip; on which all could

could not exactly agree respecting the propriety of proceeding on the mission, unless some necessary part of our property could be restored, when it was agreed that each should send his answer to the Captain on the subject. The general sentiment that prevailed was, that seeing the Lord had mixed so much mercy in our captivity, we could not desert the missionary work; and if Providence restored our ship, and we obtained a sufficient supply of necessaries, which were absolutely requisite, we were yet willing to go forward to the original place of our designation.

Several, with me, therefore, wrote letters to this effect to our Captain, and waited for an opportunity of sending them, or of one of us seeing him, which was rather attended with difficulty in our separated state.

Thursday 21st. This afternoon four of us went on shore, when the three brethren proceeded a small way out of the town, while I walked in every street to get a sight, if possible, of our Captain, that I might deliver all our letters, which I brought for that purpose, in hopes, as I knew that he had liberty to go on shore during the day, I should be able to find him, which, however, I could not.

As I suddenly turned round a corner, I was rather surprized at the great number of people who particularly crowded this street, when in all the others I had seen but very few. Before I was properly aware I perceived myself in the midst of them, and near

their principal church. I was led to ſuppoſe that they were aſſembled on ſome particular occaſion. Immediately I caſt my eyes towards what I at firſt ſuppoſed to be two ladies richly attired, who ſtood on a platform above the others againſt the wall, but I ſoon diſcovered that they were two images, with the Hoſt, which had been brought out of the church, and that the people were performing their devotions on this particular day, being the eve of Good Friday. The ſtreets were far quieter, this one only excepted, than if it had been Sunday. The altar on which the images were placed was rather higher than a common table: large wax candles were burning around them, and a number of men ſtationed as their attendants. Much noiſe was now made in their worſhip before theſe images, and I began to think that I ſhould be much ſafer if I were out from amongſt them. But I had proceeded too far for returning, which I had firſt thought of doing, leſt I ſhould give offence by my non-compliance with their worſhip, in which I was determined, however, to perſevere. And as I neither wiſhed to give them any offence, nor expoſe myſelf to danger, I was rather at a loſs what meaſure to adopt. Several reflections rapidly paſſed through my mind. I had no permiſſion from the Governor to come on ſhore, and was therefore liable to be ſent to priſon. I was alone, and if committed my friends might be unable to procure any intelligence whither I had been conveyed. In my pocket was a number of letters on which they might

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put an unfavourable conſtruction. In this ſituation I was under apprehenſions that the indignation of the populace might be excited againſt me; however I perſevered, and paſſed through them, keeping as far as the road would admit from the images, and walking as though I did not perceive in what manner they were engaged, expecting every moment to receive ſome inſult, as I neither fell upon my knees nor touched my hat. For they conſider it as pouring contempt upon their church if, when paſſed, the head at leaſt is not uncovered, a practice always obſerved by themſelves with the utmoſt ſtrictneſs and regularity. So attentive are they to what they eſteem an eſſential duty, that high and low, rich and poor, at the ringing of bells, at ſunſet, all ſtand ſtill, or kneel with their heads uncovered, in the middle of the ſtreet, croſs themſelves, and ſay their prayers till the ringing hath ceaſed. The ſame practice was obſerved on board of the ſhips, and even in the boats, where the watermen would not proceed till this ceremony was ended. Thoſe in the Duff practiſed the ſame. This, with ſimiliar rites of devotion, conſtitute, as far as I could perceive, the whole religion of the inhabitants of this town.

Though I ſeemed to take but little notice, I perceived, as I paſſed, ſeveral of them upon their knees, eſpecially women, before the image of the Virgin Mary, uttering loud ſupplications which might be heard at a conſiderable diſtance. When I had reached the corner of the ſtreet where ſome large ſtones

were placed, I turned to take a farther view of their mode of worſhip, which appeared to me ſo uncommon, and was aſtoniſhed to ſee with what apparent eagerneſs they performed this ſuperſtitious ſervice. In proceeding a little farther I was ſtopped by two well-dreſſed women, who were of the number of devotees, who accoſted me in Spaniſh to give them a piece of money for the Virgin Mary. I wiſhed to know what they required; they ſhewed me a rial, equivalent to ſeven-pence in Engliſh money, and offered to convey it to her. I refuſed to comply with their demand, when, ſuppoſing that I did not underſtand the nature of their requiſition, they called a Spaniard to give me a full explanation, who proved inadequate to the taſk, as he could not ſpeak a ſingle word of Engliſh. I heard him with patience, but ſtill remained incorrigible; ſo that, after they had waited for a conſiderable time, and found that their demand was not anſwered, they ſeemed to regard me with contempt, and ſaid that I was *Francé-umbra*. Their miſtake proved ſerviceable to me upon this occaſion; for, if they had imagined that I was an Engliſhman, I might not have ſo eaſily eſcaped. It ſeems to be a practice amongſt them to collect money for ſupporting three public days of ceremony; Good Friday, and the two preceding. They not only go from houſe to houſe for that purpoſe, but from ſhip to ſhip; nor did they paſs the Duff, as one came on board and went round to each miſſionary to obtain ſome money. But he got but little from us, indeed

only

only one rial from one who was on deck, and did not know to what purpoſes the money thus collected would be applied.

Good Friday, March 22d. This day I again went on ſhore accompanied by Brother Broughton, who had been allowed to come to the Duff from the Buonaparte, and we detained him, as the French did not ſeem to be now ſo very ſtrict in this reſpect. We expected to ſee ſomething of the order of this religious day, and were not diſappointed. But we previouſly agreed not to go where we were likely to give them any offence, as we knew it was a favour that we were indulged with the liberty of going on ſhore at an enemy's port. When we landed, we ſoon perceived that part of the town was nearly deſerted. But, on proceeding farther, we ſaw the ſtreet crowded with people of every deſcription. This was the grand ſolemn proceſſion of Good Friday. We ſtood at the end of one of the ſtreets, not wiſhing to advance too near; when, to right and left, all, immediately on diſcovering it, fell on their knees, and every head was uncovered but ours. In the van of the proceſſion, and at intervals, were friars carrying a crucifix raiſed on high, and the people walking by two and two. On each ſide of the ſtreet the ſame order was obſerved, chiefly by penitents, who had large wax candles burning in their hands, who, with the prieſts, were chanting ſomething in a doleful voice which we did not underſtand. I ſuppoſe the number of

tapers

tapers carried on this occaſion was about a thouſand from one end of the proceſſion to the other, which were carried both by boys and men. About an hundred yards from the van was a number of prieſts, walking before a large elegant coffer, glazed, with curtains, in which was placed a ſtatue of Jeſus Chriſt, as large as life, repreſenting him after he was taken down from the croſs: this was carried on men's ſhoulders. It appeared to me to have ſome kind of reſemblance to the ark of the covenant which was carried before the children of Iſrael. This was followed, at an equal diſtance, by the image of the Virgin Mary, which was carried on a platform above the heads of the populace, as large as life, richly attired, with an elegant canopy over her head, and ſeveral other inſignia of dignity. This was followed, about the ſame diſtance, by what I underſtood to be the Hoſt, the head of which ſeemed to reſemble a ſun-flower, from the ſituation in which I ſtood; a friar, with his crucifix, cloſed the proceſſion. At firſt, as I already noticed, we kept at a diſtance, but wiſhing to have a more perfect view, we advanced nearer, where our ſituation was more eligible, and whence we beheld the whole of this grand proceſſion.

The French officer, with whom we had come on ſhore, was not to return till ſeven in the evening, and we had orders to be at the boat by that time, which was to convey him on board. We ſcarcely knew

knew how to ſpend our time, as we could not move far without meeting this proceſſion, and we we afraid to go without the gate, leſt, at the approach of evening, we ſhould be ſtopped by the Spaniſh ſentinels. Between ſix and ſeven o'clock, being nearly dark, we were haſtening towards the ſhore, when we were ſaluted by a young man who addreſſed us in Engliſh. Several queſtions were exchanged, as how he came there, and in what manner he was employed, &c. when he informed us, that being brought to that country a priſoner by the French, he had remained in it, and was doing very well. He wiſhed us to accompany him to his lodgings, which were not far from this ſpot, and we conceiving that he might be uſeful to us as an interpreter, we were prevailed upon to comply, intending to call at ſome future opportunity. As we croſſed to enter into the market-place in the upper part of the town, at the corner of which ſtands a ſmall church, we were imperceptibly in the middle of the proceſſion, at the moment they were entering the door, as if to inter the ſtatue of Jeſus, as our interpreter informed us. The populace now fell on their knees, and our countryman pulled off his hat, when we were called to by ſeveral who were yet kneeling, in Spaniſh, *pull off your hats*. We at firſt affected not to underſtand them, but our interpreter explained to us, that they inſiſted on our compliance. On perceiving that we refuſed to comply, they began to feel for large knives, which they

they wear by their ſide, and to reach for ſtones, declaring, that *if we did not comply, they would ſplit our ſculls open.* But as did the Lord Jeſus Chriſt on another, ſo did we on this occaſion, paſſing through the midſt of them, we went our way, having received no injury. We did not expect again to meet this proceſſion, as, from its being dark, we ſuppoſed it had been over, elſe we never ſhould have preſumed to have paſſed that way.

The young man afterwards aſſured us, that it was highly dangerous to offer reſiſtance upon ſuch an occaſion, as they were of ſuch a diſpoſition as to have conſidered it no crime to have aſſaſſinated us, and would have been juſtified for the deed. This indeed appears to be the natural character of theſe people, for we ſaw ſeveral wooden croſſes at different places, where we underſtood that ſome one had been ſtabbed and murdered. We returned on board, deſirous of being thankful that *we had not ſo learned Chriſt* as to be given up to ſuch ſentiments, and that we had eſcaped the effects of their indignation.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Landing of the Women and Children, with their Deſignation, and ſingular Appearances in Providence, while in the Country.

AFTER various conjectures reſpecting the manner in which we ſhould be diſpoſed of by our captors, or the intimations which Providence would give, we received notice from the French Captain, that the Spaniſh Governor had granted permiſſion for the women and Children to land, but would not allow any of the men, as he had received poſitive orders to this effect from the Vice-roi at Buenos Ayres, who was much prejudiced againſt us on account of our religion, which had been communicated to him, and therefore would not ſuffer us on any account whatever to live on ſhore. That a houſe was appointed to which they were to be conveyed, and on the next day they were to be landed early in the morning. That although none of their huſbands would be permitted to accompany them, yet afterwards one or two together might viſit them during the day, and return on board, when no notice would be taken of it, provided that we kept out of the ſight of the Governor.

Having been previouſly aſſured that we ſhould not again be ſeparated, ſtill feeling the painful wound of the late parting, and from my viſits on ſhore having ſeen what convinced me that there was little aſſurance of perſonal ſafety, I felt this order to be a freſh trial

of my feelings and faith; however hoping and believing that the ſeparation would not be of long continuance, as I was perſuaded that it was my duty in my family ſituation to attempt to get on ſhore, we inſtantly made preparations for their departure from the Duff.

At ſeven o'clock in the morning, Saturday, March 23d, came the Spaniſh cuſtom cutter, with ſome Spaniſh officers for the women, and a lug-boat for their bedding and boxes, which were in their cabins. We had been previouſly informed by the French officer on board, that all our things would be cloſely inſpected, firſt by him, then by the Spaniſh officers aboard, and when they landed by officers on ſhore, when all the money which we might have in our poſſeſſion, any new linen not made up, with ſeveral other articles, would be taken from us, as prohibited goods; ſo that we yet were in a ſtate of uncertainty, what part of the remnant of our property we ſhould have left. But when all was ready to enter the boat, the French officers refuſed to look into a box, or inſpect any thing, while the Spaniards did the ſame, and would not touch one article. After all the things were got into the boat, between eight and nine o'clock, our wives and children left the Duff, and entered the cutter, accompanied by Dr. Turner, who was ſuffered to go with them as ſurgeon, and Mr. Hawkins, who had got into the boat. The Spaniſh flag was now hoiſted at the ſtern, and they proceeded towards the town of Monte Video.

A great

A great concourſe of people had aſſembled to ſee them land, who eagerly waited the arrival of the boat. When it reached the ſhore they were met by Captain Carbonelle, the Spaniſh agent, and other gentlemen, who were waiting to receive them into the town. By theſe gentlemen they were all conducted to the Spaniſh agent's houſe, where they met with a favourable reception, and received ſome refreſhment, prepared for the purpoſe. After partaking of it, ſeven of our females, with Dr. Turner, wei conducted to the houſe which had been appointed r their reception, viz. Mrs. P. Leveſque, Mrs. Va.dy, Mrs. Hill, Mrs. Hughes, Mrs. Hawkins and daughter, Mrs. J. Leveſque, and Mrs. Grieg, when dinner was prepared for Mrs. Jones, Mrs. Beattie, Mrs. Gregory, and the children, and they were entertained in a ſuperb manner.

When the things were landed, to the great aſtoniſhment of all, the Spaniſh officers on ſhore acted in the ſame manner as thoſe on board, and refuſed to look at any thing, a circumſtance never known before; for, inſtead of detaining a ſingle article, every aſſiſtance was at hand, and carts in readineſs to convey them immediately after the females.

After our wives had left the Duff, at ten o'clock, the uſual manifeſtation of joy took place, which is annually noticed the day after Good Friday, which, as it may appear ſtrange to ſome, as it did to us, I ſhall briefly notice.

The three laſt days were kept as days of ſorrow;

all the ſhips in the harbour expreſſed it, by having the colours hoiſted only half-maſt high, as a token of mourning, and the yards croſſed as much as poſſible, to make them reſemble a cruciſix, while apparent ſolemnity prevailed, both on ſhore and in the harbour; but immediately on a ſignal, when the minute arrived, all being in waiting, the yards were ſquared, the colours hoiſted wholly up, and the guns fired from almoſt every ſhip in the harbour, the Duff not excepted, while all the bells on ſhore were ſet a ringing, promiſcuouſly, as faſt as poſſible. When at the bow-ſprit, or yard-arm of the ſhips was ſuſpended, an effigy of Judas, which they began to dip in the river, while one man to each acted with the greateſt poſſible enthuſiaſm and ridiculous madneſs, beating it upon the ſhoulders, dipping with it, and then renewing his ridiculous conduct. While I beheld this ſtrange ſcene, I was ſtruck with the force of this ſcripture, "*Who hath required this at your hands?*" Surely no rational creature can for a moment ſeriouſly ſuppoſe, that the Redeemer of loſt ſinners demands ſuch conduct to be rendered to God.

After this feſtival had ceaſed and dinner ended, Mr. Jones and I obtained liberty to go on ſhore. We entered the boat, landed, and proceeded through the gates of the town to find out the houſe, which we did, after ſome little difficulty, and arrived before our wives and children, who were yet detained at the Spaniſh agent's. We found that this houſe was built after the country faſhion: it had three apartments, all on the

the ground, the floor of which was only rough earth; the middle apartment was, by thoſe who had firſt arrived, appointed for living in, and the two rooms at the extremities, for ſleeping; one of which was already occupied by Mrs. P. Leveſque, Vardy, J. Leveſque, Hill, Hawkins, and daughter; and the other was appropriated to Mrs. Gregory and three children, Mrs. Jones and two, Mrs. Beattie and one, Mrs. Hughes and Mrs. Grieg.

Soon after Mr. Jones and I had reached the houſe, the coach and four arrived with our wives and children, accompanied by the French captain, who, after alighting, informed me, that *he thought my wife was but poorly, and required reſt.* He then ſat down by me, and aſſured me, that *if I would write on a bit of paper what articles we ſhould want for our ſupport, when he returned to town he would cauſe it to be interpreted, and ſend his ſervant with them, who ſhould alſo come every day.* I wrote accordingly, and he deſired me not to forget milk, as it would be very good for the children. After he had received the note, the Spaniſh agent and ſome other gentlemen came to ſee us in this our new place of reſidence.

Having taken poſſeſſion of the houſe we began to ſettle ourſelves as comfortably as poſſible, but we ſoon found that it would prove very inconvenient, our bed nearly covered the ground without the children's.—Having no bed-ſtead, we placed our boxes and laid our beds on them, which being uneven, the one higher than the other, made the ſituation very uncomfortable.

comfortable. However, we could not well lay them on the floor, as it was ſwarming with large ants and bats, which run over us in every different direction. I hung up my cot over my bed acroſs us, into which I put the three children. The number of us that were crouded together, the exceſſive heat, with the many millions of flies, convinced us that little if any reſt could be enjoyed in that place. Mrs. Jones and my wife, who expected every day to be delivered, dreaded the approach of that ſeaſon, when, in addition to their general ſituation, they muſt have been frequently removed, to get at the clothes daily wanted in their critical ſtate. However we hoped and ſoon ſaw that the Lord, who had appeared in time paſt, was ſtill on our ſide, and was not at a loſs for means to deliver in every trial, and agreeably to his own word, *make a way to eſcape.*

One of the Gentlemen who had come to ſee us, within half an hour, called me out to walk a little with him. I went, when after apologizing as well as he could for being able to ſpeak but little Engliſh, he informed me in a mixture of French and broken Engliſh, that my lady would not do well to remain in that place, that the flies and rats were intolerable; that he had called me to inform me that he had a much better houſe farther up the country, very pleaſantly ſituated, about five miles diſtant; that it had every convenience neceſſary in that country, abundance of fruit, vegetables, &c. all of which he hoped I would do him the honour to accept, as all was at my ſervice

ſervice to the extent of a French league. He then requeſted me to favour him with my company on Monday, if convenient, and if I would name the time he would bring the coach to take me up with him; or, if I preferred to ride on horſeback, a horſe ſhould be at my ſervice.

I returned him my ſincere and warmeſt thanks for his kind and generous offer, promiſed to conſult my wife on the ſubject, and give him an anſwer at his own requeſt on the morrow, that he might call on Monday to go with us. I cannot but look upon this unexpected offer ſo generouſly made to me, before I had even time to ſeek for any thing of the kind, as an additional proof of the affectionate attention of the Lord, manifeſted towards me in the ſtate of captivity. I went into the houſe to call my wife out, when ſhe could not but expreſs her ſatisfaction at the propoſed offer, but in her ſituation ſhe could not think of going alone. Neither were we then wholly ſatisfied that it was ſafe to reſide ſo far up the country in this ſtrange land. I informed the Gentleman that it would be neceſſary that one of my friends ſhould accompany us, and enquired if it was ſafe to live ſo far out of town. To this he replied, that I might take any friend I thought proper, and that it was perfectly ſafe to reſide there; that he had negreos in a hut by it, who would fetch any thing I wanted, and that the houſe had three rooms, with three bedſteads, which could be immediately occupied.

As Mrs. Jones was in the ſame ſtate as my wife, I ſpoke

ſpoke to her and her huſband, informing them of the kind offer, and requeſting them to ſhare the ſame with me. They thought, with us, that it was a *viſible* opening in Providence for deliverance, which our God had prepared, and, if permitted, we ſhould embrace it. But ſtill an impediment remained in the way: the want of proper aſſiſtance in the hour of Nature's ſorrow ——. However, we doubted not but our God would provide for the occaſion.

Sunday, March 24th. This was the firſt Sunday we ſpent in this deſolate wilderneſs, ſo completely deſtitute of ſpiritual proviſion, the continent of South America, to which Providence has baniſhed us, as the apoſtle John, to the Iſle of Patmos, though we were not like him, ſo much in the Spirit, on this day. Early in the morning, three of our ſingle brethren came on ſhore from the Buonaparte, who, with us already there, held a prayer-meeting this morning, at our new habitation. The confuſed ſtate in which we were from coming on ſhore yeſterday, the beds and boxes laying one over the other, rendered it a matter of ſome difficulty to find our things, and as by this time our ſituation had been rumoured in the town, a number of ſpectators early came to take a view of us, a circumſtance which proved highly diſagreeable, eſpecially on this day. After dinner we again held a prayer-meeting, as we judged it to be more prudent than preaching in our preſent ſituation, as we could not enſure ourſelves a minute from the interruption of ſtrangers. Captain Robſon and the chief mate,

with

with others of the brethren and two ſeamen, were now with us, and we read the good word of our God, and ſang his praiſes together, for the firſt time theſe five Sundays paſt.

After the ſervice, the ſame gentleman came who had viſited us yeſterday, with ſome Spaniſh ladies of reſpectability. I now informed the gentleman who was the proprietor of the houſe which had been offered, that, if it was agreeable, I would go and ſee it with him on the morrow morning, with Brother Jones and our families, when he appointed ſeven o'clock, that we might enjoy the cool of the day.

Monday, March 25th. At the appointed time the gentleman arrived and the coach was waiting; when Mr. and Mrs. Jones, Mrs Gregory, the children, the gentleman and I ſet forward to ſee the houſe. It was a beautiful morning, and every thing around us looked pleaſant: but the pleaſure we enjoyed was ſtill damped, with the thought of being priſoners in a foreign clime. The country around us was fruitful, and may properly be called a goodly land. The fields appear to be fields that the Lord hath bleſſed, while the multitude of cattle ſhew there can be no ground for complaints in their ſtreets on that head. I thought of that ſaying of the prophet, (2 Kings ii. 19.) "*And the men of the city ſaid unto Eliſha, behold, I pray thee, the ſituation of this city is pleaſant, as my Lord ſeeth, but the water is naught, and the ground is barren.*" Although theſe obſervations be not applicable to this country, as both the water is good

and the ground fruitful, the miſerable ſtate of the inhabitants in reſpect to ſpiritual proviſion is ſufficient to mar every comfort, and famiſh every ſpiritual appetite, as the beſt which they have is no other than the wine of the fornication of the mother of harlots. I could not but feel on reflecting that ſuch a delightful part of the globe ſhould be ſo little noticed, and even neglected by its inhabitants, who lay buried in indolence, ignorance and ſuperſtition. Thouſands of its fruits periſh for lack of gathering; and yet ſo capable is the land of improvement that it might be made to yield an hundred-fold more.

After travelling along in a pleaſant manner over ſeveral hills, we deſcended one, at the buttom of which was the houſe that the Lord in his providence had prepared for us. In appearance it was not unlike a ſmall country church in England, whitened both on the ſides and top, quite different from all others in the country that I beheld. On our arrival at it we were agreeably ſurprized to ſee the ſituation and conveniencies: the fruitfulneſs of the garden and orchard was beyond deſcription, and we were ready to ſay with the Queen of Sheba, "*The one half has not been told me,*" for it far exceeded all that we had heard or ſeen of the like nature. Thouſands, and tens of thouſands of apples, peaches, nectarines, lay periſhing under the trees, while they were ſo loaded that few can form any idea of the profuſion: perhaps it is not equalled in the whole globe; it is impoſſible however that it ſhould be excelled, as ſome trees appeared

peared like a ſolid maſs of fruit, large branches broken down to the earth, unable to ſupport their burthen. Great abundance of figs alſo, with moſt of thoſe vegetables which grow in Europe, was here to be found, as cabbages, lettuce, turnips, radiſhes, cucumbers, onions, French beans, &c.

A number of apple trees made a curious appearance, as they were loaded with fruit and bloom at the ſame time. At the bottom of the orchard was a ſmall river, with good water and abundance of ſmall fiſh. Well ſatisfied with this tent ſo ſuitably provided in this wilderneſs, I ſoon concluded that it would be "*good for us to be here.*" The negro had been ſent on horſeback to fetch ſome wine and bread, while we ſurveyed the premiſes; and the negro women having boiled ſome eggs, we now partook of a refreſhment, and afterwards proceeded to return to our firſt habitation. The gentleman now renewed his offer, and, pointing to the right and left, obſerved, that a ſmall river in the valley, and a hill at a diſtance, were the boundaries of his land, and to the extremity of three miles it was at my ſervice, as long as I thought proper to reſide in the country.

I could not but feel grateful both to this ſtranger and the Lord of the univerſe, who proved that he had the hearts of all men in his hands, and ſupplied us with more than we had ever aſked or thought. I now promiſed to give him information when we could remove, and he in return promiſed to ſend the coach, and alſo a cart to convey our luggage. On our re-

turn, Mr. Jones and I mutually agreed that it was our duty to embrace this opportunity which Providence had opened up for the preſervation of our wives, for by this time we were convinced, that if they ſhould be delivered here their lives would be endangered. The manner in which we were crouded together during the night, fainting with heat, diſturbed with rats and myriads of flies, would ſcarcely ſuffer us to enjoy any reſt. Theſe, with many other diſagreeable things, ſeemed to ſpeak very loudly to us to depart; and, to leave us without excuſe, the Lord had opened a door, without our ſeeking after it, which ſeemed to make the way clear for our eſcape. In reſpect to the flies in this houſe, they were a complete plague. I ſuppoſe, without any exaggeration, that even in Egypt they could not have been in the ſame ſpace more numerous, though they might be more general throughout the land. The floor, the walls, the table, and every thing was covered. An apple or peach in one minute could not be recognized as ſuch, nor could we tell of what colour the table was. A cup of tea, to get it to the lip, muſt be ſwept nearly all the while we were drinking, and during the night the ſound which they emitted could be compared only to the noiſe of an heavy pouring rain.

On Tueſday I gave notice to the gentleman that, if it ſuited him, we would remove early on Wedneſday morning. This was agreed upon, and we expected to depart.

On

On Wednesday, after waiting for a long time without the appearance either of coach or cart, we began to fear lest something might have occurred which should disappoint our expectations. Mr. Jones went to town to the French captain, to know if any thing had taken place to prevent us from going up the country, when he received the disagreeable news that the Governor of Monte Video would not suffer any, with his knowledge, to land, and he was afraid lest he should hear that we were on shore, which if he knew, he would dispatch a guard of Spanish soldiers to take us immediately into custody. I was advised by Carbonelle to write a petition, as if it was written from the Buonaparte, requesting permission, on account of our wives, to come on shore; and if I wrote it to-night, he promised that he would take it himself in the morning to the Governor, and hoped that he would give us permission to go. I accordingly sat down this evening and wrote one, which I carried to the captain on Thursday morning, and was to return on Friday at the same hour for an answer.

Friday, March 29th. Early this morning I went to obtain the answer to my petition. Captain Carbonelle assured me, that he was sorry to inform me that the Governor declared *he could not permit me to remove; that the petition which I had written must go to the Vice-Roi at Buenos Ayres for his approbation, as it was impossible for him to grant a request of so serious a nature as giving permission to an enemy to take possession of any part of the country.* Much disappointed and discouraged,

couraged, I knew not what to do. I was ſenſible, that if even the Vice-roi (which was not probable) ſhould give permiſſion, the time that would neceſſarily elapſe before his anſwer could be received, would render it uſeleſs; for one, if not both of our wives would be delivered, before any intelligence could reach Monte Video from the capital.

While I ſtood not knowing what to do, or ſcarcely what anſwer to give, the Spaniſh agent, who is a perſon of conſiderable authority here, underſtanding the nature of my requeſt, came forward on my behalf, and told Carbonelle, that *he would be ſurety for me, and would be reſponſible to the laws of his country, the Governor or Vice-roi.* After ſome converſation with the captain he deſired him to inform me, that neither the Governor nor Captain Carbonelle dared give me a permiſſion, or muſt appear to know any thing of the matter, but that he would take all the criminality on himſelf, and if the report reached the Governor's or Vice-roi's ears, he would be anſwerable for all the conſequences; and, to convince us of his ſincerity, he would ſend his own coach for us, and one of his carts for the luggage, to convey us to the houſe to which we wiſhed to be removed.

I returned this gentleman my ſincere thanks, and am bound in gratitude to notice this incident, as another evidence that our God hath the hearts of all men in his hands, and that there is no obſtacle too great for him to ſurmount. As I left him, he enquired if I intended to take any other perſon with me.

me. I told him that one was under the neceſſity of going. He then aſked which; when I informed him that Mrs. Jones required the ſame ſituation as my wife, and I hoped would be allowed. To this he aſſented; but Captain Carbonelle requeſted me not to take any more, at leaſt for the preſent.

Saturday, March 30th. Early this morning we prepared to ſet out for our new place of abode. The coach and the cart were ſent according to promiſe, and we were ready for removal. Although none but our two families were permitted to depart, yet medical or neceſſary aſſiſtance was not denied. Dr. Turner therefore agreed to go with us, and Mrs. Hill promiſed to join us on Monday; but as the coach was there, I propoſed to walk if ſhe would get into it, and go immediately. To this ſhe aſſented, ſo that we all went this day together, with Mr. Hill, who alſo went with his wife, and the gentleman accompanied us. A cart, of a curious conſtruction, drawn by four oxen, carried our luggage, attended by two of the natives, Mr. Jones and me.

We all arrived in ſafety at our new houſe; and after we had got in our beds and boxes, we went to ſhew the premiſes to our brothers and ſiſters who had accompanied us, who were much pleaſed with our ſituation, and each was gratified in perceiving the extraordinary kindneſs of our God, and the inſtruments he had raiſed up in our behalf, even in an enemy's land. After the gentleman and coach departed, we began to put our things to rights in the houſe, in

which

which were three bedſteads, a few chairs, three tables, and many other things by us greatly wanted, with ſilver ſpoons, forks, &c. All the bedſteads were rather narrow, and I was obliged to make mine wider that very night, with a board raiſed upon ſome large bricks. Thus being all comfortably ſettled in our new habitation, we offered up a tribute of praiſe and thankſgiving with gratitude, for our comfortable Bethel upon the continent of South America. We partook of our ſupper with a new pleaſure, and retired to reſt in expectation of our ſleep being ſweet, which however was not of long duration to Mrs. Gregory and me, as ſhe found herſelf rather unwell.

Sunday, March 31ſt. At ſix o'clock I awakened Mrs. Hill, on account of my wife's ſituation, but I did not entertain a thought that her deliverance was ſo nigh.

After family-worſhip, Mrs. Hill only being yet with my wife in her apartment, while Dr. Turner, Brothers Hill and Jones, were with me in the room where we generally ſat, we heard the child cry. I was much aſtoniſhed, and could ſcarcely believe my own ears, ſo ſingularly kind did it appear that Providence ſhould again be ſo mindful of me and mine, as to prepare this houſe, and bring us to it, notwithſtanding all the obſtacles that had occurred, only in ſufficient time before the arrival of the dreaded moment; and God be ſo gracious that ſhe ſhould not only be delivered, but have a much better time than ever ſhe had in her native land. Again we raiſed

our

our Ebenezer, for hitherto the Lord has helped us. Thus the Lord added to me another ſon, born in this ſtrange land, this day, Sunday, March 31ſt, 1799, about nine o'clock in the morning.

Being without thoſe neceſſary comforts ſo common in England at ſuch a time, and having no wine in the houſe, Dr. Turner and I mounted two horſes, and rode off to procure ſome. When about two miles from the houſe, we met the coach, with the Spaniſh agent, his lady and daughter, the owner of our houſe, Captain Carbonelle, and another, who were coming down to ſee in what manner we were ſituated in our new habitation. We immediately rode up to the coach, and informed them of my wife's ſituation, at which they teſtified the higheſt pleaſure; and being eager to get to the houſe, ſaid, that I need not return with them, but *if Senora Gregory wanted wine, or any thing elſe, to go to their houſe in town and get it*; *adding, that ſome ſhould be ſent on the morrow.*

We now rode towards the Miſſionary houſe, and acquainted our brethren and ſiſters, with our captain, who was preſent, with the deliverance that had been wrought; when again each beheld another *viſible diſplay of Divine Providence* manifeſted at this time, both in providing the place and the mercy granted.

We got ſome wine and returned home, where I found my partner in a comfortable way, and doing well.

The viſitors were now departed, after ſtaying about an hour and an half, when they manifeſted their re-

ſpect and pleaſure upon this occaſion. The ladies, who were admitted to my wife's apartment, exhibited peculiar tenderneſs, and though they were ſcarcely able to converſe with her one word to be underſtood, proved the truth of that obſervation, "*Actions ſpeak louder than words.*" They embraced the little ſtranger and his mother, in a manner that expreſſed their peculiar reſpect and veneration, and continually kept expreſſing, in ſtrong terms, their fears, leſt they ſhould catch cold, which, to prevent, they who can ſcarcely be diſcovered engaged in the leaſt act of employment, were now very buſy with bits of paper, &c. ſtopping all crevices and holes, where they ſuppoſed the night-air might enter, and produce that effect. Before they departed, Mrs. Hill was conſtrained to gratify them, by taking the little one out to the agent, Carbonelle, and the others, who welcomed him with every demonſtration of joy, and the captain would retain him for ſome time in his arms, requeſting permiſſion to nurſe him.

Before they left the houſe they enquired if my wife was fond of chocolate, as if that was the caſe they would ſend ſome, and obſerving that the wine of the country was not very good, ſaid, that ſome ſhould be ſent from the Buonaparte, which was of a ſuperior quality. They then took their leave, promiſing that they would ſpeedily viſit her again.

At an hut in the vicinity of our houſe lived a negro, who ſuperintends and looks after others with the premiſes, who had a wife and little girl. This poor creature

creature (the woman) early in the morning, gave us every assistance requisite to kindle a fire upon the earth, fetch the water, &c. for breakfast, during which time she knew not what had taken place within. Sometime after the child was born and all comfortable, Mrs. Hill took her within, to shew her my wife and babe, who, on beholding them, appeared to be much overcome with surprise. This poor Ethiopian creature knew not how to satisfy herself in manifesting her joy and love; tears rolled down her cheek, while she ran to fall on her knees, and clasp my wife's arms, as they lay extended on the bed, that she might bedew her with the copious flood that gushed from her eyes. When looking at the infant she, in a variety of forms, expressed the strongest sensations of joy, veneration, and love. Turning towards me she clasped my arms in the same manner, and then embraced Mrs. Hill, of whose service she appeared to be perfectly sensible, and during the whole of this personal expression of affection she continued to utter a kind of gibberish, in a copious manner, of which we were unable to understand a single word. Her extraordinary conduct was more than sufficient to overcome our feelings and produce tears, to behold in this poor unenlightened creature such a melting grateful soul, and we were ready to address each other in the language of the Saviour of lost sinners to the Pharisee, "*Seest thou this woman.*" It was some time before she withdrew, when the circumstance was speedily communicated to her husband and others, who this day

appeared to look towards our houſe with peculiar admiration, while every mark of attention was exhibited by the woman, who appeared to be delighted in rendering us ſervice.

The child appeared an idol in her eſteem, which ſhe ever manifeſted during our reſidence in the country, and was highly pleaſed if permitted to hold him in her arms, or carry him to her hut, to which we were not afraid to give our conſent. When ſhe beheld the dreſs of the babe about to be ſhifted, ſhe went and broke the top off from a large earthen jug to make a fire-pan, in which ſhe put the clear fire from her hut, and bringing it to my wife's room, placed it at her feet, with the view to prevent her or the child from catching cold: this ſhe did on ſeveral occaſions, and once on ſeeing my wife about to waſh ſome clothes, before the time that ſhe ſuppoſed her ſituation admitted ſuch exertion, ſhe came in, ſhook her head, and gibbering, took them away from her, and having fetched one of the negro-men, they went together to a large rivulet, about half-a-mile from the houſe, where, after waſhing, they returned them both clean and dry.

Theſe incidents I notice, though they may appear frivolous to ſome, as by me they are viewed as ſo many manifeſtations of the compaſſionate attention of Divine Providence, who cauſed the great and mighty, the enlightened and unenlightened, even to this poor female negro, to contribute their ſervice to us in the day of captivity and hour of trial, in a ſtrange land, amongſt enemies; a land in which, from every information,

mation, joined to the apprehenſions which the active power of imagination had excited, we might have expected to meet a very different treatment.

Nothing particular occurred for the few firſt days, but our increaſing ſatisfaction in our new habitation, and in the kindneſs of thoſe generous benefactors whom the Lord had raiſed up in our behalf. Captain Carbonelle, agreeably to his promiſe, ſent a tin box of chocolate, containing about thirty cakes, and ſix bottles of French wine. We were ſeveral times viſited by the principal ladies and Gentlemen of the town, who came to view the new-born ſtranger, and gave us ſeveral intimations that they would be happy if we would ſettle in the country. But as our country was at war with Spain, and no religious ſentiments tolerated here, but thoſe which had been eſpouſed by the church of Rome, ſo that any who preſumed to differ from it, would be in continual danger of loſing their lives, and as at the ſame time we reflected on the miſſionary cauſe, in which we had ſolemnly engaged, we thought that we had ſufficient reaſons for refuſing to comply with their invitation.

I thought at beſt that even though we had conſented we ſhould have been but as *a candle put under a buſhel*, on this dark continent, which, while their preſent laws are in exiſtence could have given no light.

Captain Robſon, the chief Mate, and moſt of the Miſſionaries, came at different times, and we enjoyed ſome comfortable moments together. The Captain, when he ſurveyed the fertility of the orchard, declared that

that though he was happy in one reſpect that Providence had provided ſo liberally for our comfort, yet in another he was ſorry, as it would have a great tendency to leſſen Otaheite in my eſtimation, and completely ſpoil my natural reliſh for the enjoyments of this original place of my deſtination, which we ſtill cheriſhed the hope of reaching. In the firſt week, Captain Carbonelle called in the coach at the Brethrens' houſe, and brought to our dwellings as many of the ſiſters as the coach would contain, viz. Mrs. P. Leveſque, Mrs. J. Leveſque, Mrs. Vardy, Mrs. Hawkins and daughter, with Mr. Howell, accompanied by Mr. Vardy and ſeveral French officers who rode on horſeback.

After ſeeing with pleaſure, my wife in a comfortable way, our females and other friends took a ſurvey of the premiſes, and partaking of the fruit, they readily and unanimouſly agreed that Providence was good. Mr. Howell was ſo delighted with our preſent ſituation, that he wiſhed to remain with us, as he was now more uncomfortable on board the Buonaparte. He accordingly ſtaid, and took up his abode with us, and remained until we left the country; we accommodated him as well as our circumſtances would admit, which he enjoyed in his ſituation, though his bedſtead conſiſted of two forms placed together, and Dr. Turner uſed my cheſt for the ſame purpoſe, in the apartment which we occupied in the day.

Sunday, April 7th. On account of the fewneſs of our number at this place, we held prayer-meetings,

ings, which we judged to be moſt prudent in our preſent ſituation. Brothers Turner and Howell went to meet the Brethren at the other houſe; and we ſhould each have been glad to have united together, but our circumſtances would not admit all to go to that diſtance, and leave the females unprotected.

The public place of worſhip, to which the Brethren reſorted this day, widely differed from thoſe, to which, in England, they had ſo frequently repaired. A cliff of a rock near the ſea, now formed the body of the church, the dome of which was the firmament of heaven; by nature it was encloſed on every quarter, except towards the ſea, when, to procure a ſhelter from the penetrating beams of the ſun, which darted in that direction, they had built a wall of rock ſtones, which afforded a cool retreat for prayer and praiſe, that realized the force of the Divine promiſe, *the ſhadow of a great rock in a weary land.* After preaching, the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was adminiſtered, and the divine preſence of Jeſus was enjoyed, though the veſſels that were uſed on this occaſion, were not of the ſame quality as in days paſt. This place was afterwards frequently uſed for ſocial prayer, and many of the Brethren, when they came on ſhore during the day from the Buonaparte, were gathered together praying.

Another place which was uſed for the ſame purpoſe, was on a hill, a few miles diſtant from the town, which they named Pilgrim's Hill. Here, and at the rock, the promiſe was fulfilled, *Whereſoever*

two

two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midſt of them, and that to bleſs them.

Our orchard alſo, we record as a place of prayer and praiſe; for when a brother or two occaſionally have viſited us, we have placed ourſelves under ſome tree, and unitedly made our requeſts known unto God, and offered a tribute of thankſgiving to his ſacred name.

In conſequence of the diſtance between our houſe and Monte Video, and the zig-zag direction of the road, we found it difficult to go either to town or procure proviſions, which Brother Jones and I did by turns. We therefore agreed, that as horſes were ſo cheap, we would each purchaſe one, which we accordingly did. I gave for mine, with the ſaddle, bridle, ſtirrups, and new horſe-cloth, worth two dollars, only ſix and an handkerchief. And as we had good convenience at home for keeping them, they coſt us nothing for their maintenance, as our land was ſufficient to ſupport an hundred. We found them to be of great utility and means of our perſonal ſafety, which was enjoyed at a ſmall expence, as when we left the country, we diſpoſed of them at a trivial loſs. I retained (as I had loſt my bed-covering by the capture) the horſe-cloth for a coverlet, and on the day I departed ſold mine for three dollars, and a wine horn, value one, ſo that the handkerchief was all the expence of that uſeful animal.

Both natives, Spaniards, and negroes, ſeldom can be ſeen walking out of town, as it is conſidered,

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and really is, dangerous in many reſpects, particularly from robbers and dogs. Even in town few appear to have any inclination to go out of their own houſe after darkneſs ſets in; but if they do they take an hanger or ſome other weapon under their cloaks for ſelf-defence. One evening, being with ſome of the inhabitants, and perceiving ſome cutlaſſes under their cloaks, I was rather ſuſpicious, and enquired for what purpoſe they had them, when a Spaniſh Captain, belonging to the army, informed me that it was for the purpoſe of ſelf-defence, as there was danger of being aſſaſſinated in the ſtreets during the night, againſt which I muſt be on my guard.

I am bound with the moſt heartfelt gratitude to acknowledge the goodneſs of the Author of every mercy, for my protection amongſt the natives, as there being no regular road to our dwelling, I loſt my way ſeveral times, and being benighted, I was compelled to ride miles over theſe dark mountains, and at laſt to ſeek for refuge in ſome of their huts, where, though I was protected, I have diſcovered ſome of their intrigues, which have convinced me of my critical ſituation, of which I ſhall take notice in its proper place.

Mrs. Gregory and child continued every day to increaſe rapidly in ſtrength, and at the end of eight days ſhe was able to walk down the orchard. She appeared a wonder in this reſpect, and I could not but behold the great goodneſs of God diſplayed in her behalf, and reflected on my miſerable moments

while we were ſeparated, when I ſuppoſed that my eyes would never ſee, nor my ears hear, what was now in reality exhibited to my view. A ſurvey of our late and preſent ſituations, *viſibly diſplayed* the goodneſs of God.

Friday 12th. As ſhe was now almoſt completely reſtored to health, I began to think of dedicating my child to God, in this ſtrange land; to raiſe up an Ebenezer to a gracious God, for ſurely, *hitherto the Lord hath helped us.* I conſulted with Captain Robſon, whoſe attendance with that of Mr. Smith, and all the miſſionary Brethren and ſiſters, if poſſible, I particularly requeſted on this occaſion, where we hoped, on account of the diſtance from town, we ſhould have an opportunity to meet together without any interruption. We had fixed upon the day, which was Sunday next, and appointed the ſubſequent order to be obſerved. As many of the brethren as could attend were required to come early in the morning, as the diſtance was conſiderable, when Mr. Howell was to preach, amongſt the apple-trees in the orchard, and in the afternoon the ordinance of baptiſm to be adminiſtered to my little one.

The kindneſs ſhewn by Captain Carbonelle, in our captivity, induced Captain Robſon and me, out of reſpect, to agree on the propriety of requeſting his attendance in the afternoon on this occaſion, as we knew that his moral conduct, ſo far as we had beheld, was very commendable, and the invitation would look reſpectable. I therefore ſet off to town,

and

and informed the Captain what was to take place, and that his preſence would be highly acceptable. He aſſured me that he was much gratified by my requeſt, and with the greateſt pleaſure would attend, returning me many thanks for what he was pleaſed to term, *the high honour I had conferred upon him.* As we did not with our orchard-worſhip to be interrupted by ſtrangers, leſt it ſhould hurt the minds of any of the Brethren, I particularly noticed, that the time appointed was the afternoon, leſt our morning ſervice ſhould prove uncomfortable.

Sunday 14th. The morning came, and ſoon ſeveral of the ſingle Brethren, with our Captain and chief mate, were at our houſe. It was a fine day, and we anticipated the pleaſure of finding it alſo a comfortable one. When the time of ſervice arrived, in the morning, the Brethren, Mr. Howell, Captain Robſon, Mr. Smith, &c. went into the orchard, and the worſhip of our God commenced. Mr. Howell preached from Pſalm viii. 4. "*What is man that thou art mindful of him.*" Before the concluſion of the ſervice, I was unexpectedly called from among the trees. I went up to the houſe, and found that a coach and four, with a great number of other horſes, ſurrounded the door, and not only Captain Carbonelle, whom we did expect in the afternoon, but ſeveral other Captains, the Spaniſh agent, the owner of the premiſes, ſome Spaniſh ladies, and others, who had called at the other houſe with the coach, and brought

up Mrs. Beattie and Mrs. Grieg with them, accompanied by a number of domeſtics, to wait upon us.

I was much ſurpriſed at ſeeing the houſe crowded with thoſe whom I never expected, although a native had been diſpatched on horſeback a little before to inform me; but I did not fully underſtand him, or that any company would arrive before the afternoon, and then only Captain Carbonelle, and the owner of the houſe.

On my reaching the door, Captain Carbonelle apologized for having come before the time I had appointed, and having brought with him ſo much company, by ſaying, that having mentioned in the town that he was permitted to be preſent, and was coming, he could not prevent them from accompanying him. Situated, as I was, in the country, as a priſoner, I could not make any objections; but I requeſted him to walk with me into the garden by himſelf, which he did immediately. I then obſerved, that he knew I was an Engliſhman, and a proteſtant in my religion; that I believed it to be a duty which I owed to my God and my conſcience, and my child, to perform this ordinance, and to baptize my little one, even in a land where the inhabitants differed from me in religious ſentiments. Yet that I did not wiſh to give the leaſt offence to any whatever, but as I knew that the laws of the land did not ſanction me, and that the company in general were Roman catholics, our ordinances might probably give them offence.

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I requeſted him to notice theſe things to them, and inform them that their preſence, ſo far from giving me any offence, would be acceptable, if we were indulged with our worſhip uninterruptedly.

The Captain anſwered me, that he had previouſly informed them of the principal things I had mentioned, and that they all knew what our religious ſentiments were; but that, though the Spaniards in general were rigid in their religion, yet thoſe, who had this day come with him, were not fanatics, and had informed him, when ſpoken to on the ſubject, "That they were, like him, for every man to enjoy liberty of conſcience; that they could attend our worſhip with pleaſure, if permitted; but if, when they came to the houſe, their preſence was not acceptable, that they would, during our worſhip, walk into the garden." I returned him thanks for his kind attention in previouſly ſpeaking to them, and hoped he would now aſſure them they were under no neceſſity to withdraw, for I ſhould ſee them with pleaſure.

The coming of theſe numerous unexpected viſitors to dinner farther alarmed me, not knowing where I ſhould be able to obtain a ſupply ſufficient for ſuch a company, as I had only provided a ſufficiency of good wholeſome food for the Brethren. But all uneaſineſs on that head was ſoon removed, on ſeeing the ſervants, whom they brought with them to attend, unload their horſes, and bring their hampers into the houſe, loaded with proviſions from town, all ready dreſſed

dreſſed for the table, ſo great a quantity indeed, that our table could not contain them, conſiſting of ſuch a variety as I am unable fully to enumerate. All different kinds of meat, turkeys, ducks, pigeons, chickens, wild-fowls, tongues, paſtry, and ſweetmeats, &c. peculiar to the country: ſoups alſo were ready, ſervants being ſent before to prepare them at the negroes' huts. They alſo brought bread and wines of all ſorts, ſundry ſweetmeats for the children, coffee, coffee equipage, &c. ſufficient to furniſh the table of any nobleman in Europe, and which muſt have been collected at conſiderable trouble and expence. I could not but be aſtoniſhed on beholding their attention, conſideration, and liberality, for as they brought it in this manner ready dreſſed, with ſo many ſervants to attend, they gave us no additional trouble.

The houſe would not contain all preſent this day, and we were obliged to erect a temporary table under a large uninclоſed ſhed in the garden for the ſingle brethren to dine, while the ſtrangers principally occupied the houſe. And, ſurely, I could have adopted the language of the Pſalmiſt, in the 23d. Pſalm: "*Thou prepareſt a table before me in the preſence of mine enemies, thou anointeſt my head with oil, my cup runneth over.*" Immediately after dinner, according to the cuſtom of the country, coffee was preſented at table, of which after we had partaken, we began to prepare for our worſhip; and, as the report of this ordinance had extended farther into town, by this time,

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a freſh number of horſes arrived at the houſe with other ſtrangers, who came to be witneſſes of our ceremony.

When we were all ready to begin, Captain Carbonelle was requeſted to make a general proclamation to all preſent, French, Spaniards, and others, the import of which was, that it would give no offence to us, though all were preſent, who thought proper to ſtay, and would ſo far comply with our ſervice as to prevent diſorder and interruption in our worſhip; and if any perſons preſent thought themſelves not at liberty to comply, it would be eſteemed a favour if, during our worſhip, they would walk into the garden. Immediately there was an univerſal ſilence, and both thoſe at the door and window were quiet, and as many as were within being ſeated, I began the worſhip by giving out an hymn from Dr. Watts, ſuited to the ordinance, which we ſang. After which Mr. Howell engaged in prayer, and then ſpoke on the nature of the ordinance of Chriſtian Baptiſm, for a ſhort time, which then ended, after having firſt engaged in prayer myſelf, I baptized my ſon, naming him *Ebenezer*, *Gerſhom*; in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt; in the preſenee of Europeans, Africans, and Americans, of different ſentiments, by profeſſion, Roman catholics, infidels, and proteſtants, ſelected from different nations of the globe, from France, Spain, England, Africa, North and South America. After which I ſpoke a few words, principally aſſigning my reaſons for complying

plying with this ordinance of the Lord Jesus Christ, and by it dedicating my child to God, noticing, among other reasons and obligations, that if even the heathen thought it their duty to dedicate and offer their children to their idols, how much more was I, who professed the knowledge of the only true God, bound to dedicate mine to him, who is the Sovereign both of heaven and earth.

I then gave out another hymn from the same collection, which when we had sung, Mr. Howell read the portions of God's word from which I had named the child, and then applied them to our present state. These were, Exodus ii. 22: "*And she bare him a son, and he called his name Gershom; for he said, I have been a stranger, in a strange land.*" 1 Samuel vii. 12: "*Then Samuel took a stone, and set it between Mizpeh and Shen, and called the name of it Eben-ezer, saying, hitherto hath the Lord helped us.*" After some pertinent observations were made, I engaged in prayer, and the service ended.

All the strangers present behaved with the greatest attention and decorum during the whole of the service, and when it was ended they eagerly took me by the hand, returning many thanks for the favour that we had granted, while every countenance expressed the liveliest satisfaction and joy, and all at length departed highly gratified.

The Brethren present this day were pleased with what they had witnessed, and most declared the satisfactory moments which they had enjoyed. In so far

far as it respected myself, I felt my mind peculiarly comfortable during the whole of the service, nor do I recollect any unpleasant sensations caused by this strange assembly, to prevent me from participating in the delights which flow from a sense of the divine presence in the sacred ordinances, for I was constrained to behold what *God had wrought*.

The single Brethren did not return this evening on board of the Buonaparte, but staid, supped, and slept on the floor, with the best accommodation, in point of bedding, that we were able to afford, and passed a very tolerable night.

On my wife's opening a paper given her by Capt. Carbonelle, with some sugar-plumbs for little Ebenezer Gershom, she found inclosed two gold pieces, as a present for the young stranger, of which we knew nothing till after they were gone.

Two days after I went to town for the purpose of seeing the French prize-master of the Duff at the coffee-house, when an American gentleman entered into some conversation, and made several enquiries respecting the ordinance which he understood had taken place, informing me that the rumour of it had extended throughout the town, and that those who were present on the occasion had declared their approbation in the strongest terms. We have no hesitation in declaring that a similar incident had never occurred on all the vast continent of South-America, and that this was the first protestant baptism ever suffered to take place amongst the many millions of its

inhabitants, and at which ſo many of different nations attended. May it be an evidence for good: *a little one become a thouſand, and all nations ſee the ſalvation of God.* On the events of this day I compoſed ſome verſes, which will appear in the work, if there be room.

As an unexpected providence had brought us to this place, and this was a peculiar circumſtance, in order to record the event, a certificate was written, for the purpoſe of obtaining the ſanction of the principal people who were preſent. Captain Carbonelle procured the ſignatures of the majority, but when I called for the paper at his lodgings, after ſhewing it, and cauſing ſome to ſign it in my preſence, he aſſured me that if I left it a day or two longer he would procure ſeveral other names: to this I agreed, but on that account, the Captain being rather ſuddenly ordered out of harbour, either he or the Spaniſh agent, who both wiſhed to preſerve it, as the record of an event which had yielded them much pleaſure, retained it; and I was compelled to leave the original, though I kept the copy in my own poſſeſſion with this defect, the omiſſion of moſt of the names, which being foreign, totally eſcaped my memory.

COPY OF THE CERTIFICATE.

Province of La Plata, near Monte Video, May 6th, 1799.

THESE are to certify, that Ebenezer Gerſhom Gregory, ſon of William and Hannah Gregory, of England, in Europe, was baptized, *after the proteſtant manner*, in La Plata, near Monte Video, Spaniſh South

South America, on Sunday, April 14th, in the year of our Lord one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-nine, being then fourteen days old,

By me,
WILLIAM GREGORY,
Miniſter of the Goſpel.

IN THE PRESENCE OF

The Rev. *William Howell*,
Thomas Robſon, late Captain of the Duff,
David Smith, firſt Officer of ditto,
A. Carbonelle, Le Grand Buonaparte,
Don Manuel Baſques, Spaniſh Agent,
Monſ. Demend, Prize-Captain of the Poſtillihio,
Monſ. Riviere, Prize-Captain of the Duff,
Monſ. ———, Captain of Le Republicain Frigate,
Don Manuel Baſques, Jun. Monte Video.
Monſ. ———, French Prize-Captain,
Monſ. Duclous, French Agent, Monte Video,
Senora Baſques, Monte Video,
Senora Baſques, Jun. ditto,
Monſ. ——, Surgeon of the Buonaparte,
Monſ. ——, Surgeon of the Republicain, &c.

MISSIONARIES PRESENT:

The Rev. *John Hill*,	*Griffith Parry*,
Samuel Turner,	*Joſeph Cooper*,
Clark Bentom,	*John Jerrard*,
Spence Broughton,	*William Soddy*,

James Jones,	*Mrs. Hill,*
Daniel Millar,	*Mrs. Jones,*
James Mitchell,	*Mrs. Beattie,*
John Soul,	*Mrs. Grieg,*
James Smith,	*Mrs. Gregory.*
James Reed,	

In conſequence of Meſſrs. Beattie and Grieg having loſt their road they were not preſent, being compelled to return; and of the ſtrangers who were ſpectators of the ceremony none ſigned it but the principal, and of them I can recollect but few.

My wife being now completely recovered, and encouragement having been given us to expect the reſtoration of our apparel, which had been worn, I entertained a hope that ſome part of my property, which was abſolutely wanted, might be recovered. The Brethren were allowed for ſeveral days to go on board the Duff, in turn for this purpoſe, but my diſtance from town, added to other circumſtances, prevented me from availing myſelf of this privilege. Some, however, went and got ſeveral articles of their apparel, ſome but a ſmall part, and others none, and amongſt the latter I was ranked. Captain Carbonelle, and the prize-maſter of the Duff, having given me an order to go on board, that I might procure ſome clothes, I went in a boat with Monſ. Bezzard, but when alongſide, the Spaniſh officer would not allow me to enter, ſaying that the Governor having been apprized that a great part of the Duff's cargo had been

been ſold, had prohibited the admiſſion of any of us on board, or any property coming aſhore. Monk Bezzard, however, requeſted me to ſtay for ſome time in the boat, while he endeavoured to find a cheſt I had ſpecified, in which were articles that I particularly wanted; when after waiting ſome time, he told me that the cheſt which I had ſpecified could not be found, though I knew that ſome part of my property, taken out of that individual cheſt, lay on the table in the cabin, and ſome apparel purloined from the ſame were afterwards ſeen both by my wife and myſelf in the poſſeſſion of others. I was now under the neceſſity of returning without the execution of my purpoſe, after paying three rials for the hire of the boat, and was told that no admiſſion could be given without an order from the Governor. All my children were in want of ſhoes, and all their's, together with moſt of my wife's and mine, were in the box of which I had been in purſuit. I particularly wiſhed to procure ſhoes for the children, and Brother Jones, who the day before had been admitted on board, and tied up a bundle of clothes, but was not ſuffered to bring them on ſhore without the requiſite grant, agreed with me to repair to the Governor's houſe, when we requeſted his concurrence, with the permiſſion granted us by the French Captain, to recover ſome part of our wearing apparel. He aſſured us that if we wrote a petition to the French Captain, and he ſigned it, he would give orders for us to be allowed what clothes we had worn. This we did, but it was neceſſary to tranſlate it into Spaniſh,

Spaniſh, and to undergo ſome other ceremony, which appeared ſo very frivolous as not to be worth mentioning, as it only gave us trouble from day to day, and the iſſue of the buſineſs was, that we got nothing more than we brought with us at our firſt landing, and my little ones were compelled to go without the ſhoes. However unpleaſant this circumſtance might be, the loſs of my property affected me but in a ſmall degree, for when I was enabled to ſee what the Lord had done for me and mine, *I took joyfully the ſpoiling of my goods*, and eſteemed it a mercy that our God had conſtrained our enemies to grant what we ſtill poſſeſſed. I daily ſaw evidences that it is infinitely better to truſt in the Lord than repoſe confidence in men, and that what we received came from the bountiful hand of our God, who had compelled *ravens*, againſt their nature, to bring food for his people's need from day to day, until he appeared in their behalf. "*Not unto (them nor) us, but to the Lord be all the glory.*"

The ſingle Brethren, having only what they took with them on the night of capture, were but badly attired, and would have been in a worſe ſituation, if it had not been for a ſmall ſurplus of ſome few articles that had been ſaved by the females. Our Captain, Mr. Smith and Mr. Howell, had ſome clothes given to each, and the married Brethren retained what happened to be in their births, as it was preſerved by means of the women and children, who maintained more influence over the minds of our captors than the moſt forcible arguments which could have been uſed.

Thus

Thus were they no impediment to us in our ſtate of trial, as we were even treated well for their ſake, for when our captors beheld them they were conſtrained to act as they did, and I was forcibly ſtruck with the declaration of one to me, who, when Mrs. Jones, Mrs. Gregory and children, with Mrs. Hill, came to town to re-embark, took me aſide, and ſaid, "*To ſee one man kill another, or a multitude in every direction around me fall by the ſword of war never gives me concern, as I view it only as its natural effect, but when I ſaw this morning, on your arrival in town, that women and children were made the ſubjects of that calamity, the ſcene was too affecting for me to behold, and I was compelled to withdraw, that I might conceal my feelings.*"

The Spaniards at this port, I believe, few deſcribe as a humane people, and of them we entertained the moſt unfavourable opinions, dreading when taken, the idea of being conveyed to a Spaniſh ſettlement, particularly upon this continent, where hiſtory informs us that the blood of ſo many thouſands has been ſpilt to obtain and ſecure the poſſeſſion; yet even here the generality of them *entreated us well in the time of evil.* They ſeemed to ſympathize with us, while they would repeatedly reprobate our captors; the name of France was commonly mentioned with diſdain, though England was noticed in a manner directly oppoſite; ſo that it was very evident while we remained here, that the national prejudices between the French and Spaniards had not yet ſubſided.

To corroborate this remark I ſhall briefly notice one inſtance,

inſtance, that occurred on the day when our families were landed from the Duff, when, as it has been already mentioned, in the ceremony of hanging the effigy of Judas, in the harbour and on ſhore, one was hanged in town with a national cockade. This was immediately received as an inſult by the French officers in port, who lodged a complaint with the Spaniſh Governor, when it was ſuppoſed that ſome unpleaſant things would enſue, and perhaps, had the latter been more powerful in the harbour, it might have been attended with the moſt ſerious conſequences, as ſome of the French officers, in the height of their reſentment, declared that if they could but ſee another French ſhip coming into harbour, they would fire upon the town.

The clergy belonging to the church of Rome, from whom we expected much oppoſition, did not ſeem to retain that ſpirit of prejudice which ages have ſtamped upon their character. I was in the company of ſeveral of them at their own houſes, and they evinced much affability, frankneſs, and freedom of communication. Nor did one of theſe men ever manifeſt in the ſmalleſt degree, a deſire of my compliance with a ſingle article of their creed.

As Brother Hill and I were one afternoon riding towards our cottage, within two miles of it, at a diſtance, we perceived a friar on horſeback, dreſſed in the inſignia of his office, with a domeſtic behind. As ſoon as he diſcovered us he turned his horſe, which he rode up by mine, and ſtopped to give me the regular ſalute of the country. I did the ſame, when he took

took me by the hand, and aſked me, in Spaniſh, what o'clock it was, of which I informed him: then repeatedly taking hold of my hand, and placing it on his breaſt, he aſſured me by the crucifix which he then viewed, that in his heart I was much eſteemed; when mentioning the name of the owner of the houſe, he aſked if I was going to Monſ. Duclos' Caza, which convinced me that our place of reſidence was well known. I anſwered in the affirmative, upon which he pointed out the moſt direct way, then catching my hand, and placing it as before, bowing, he bid me adieu, and rode towards the town.

People of reſpectability and character paid us the greateſt attention, and perhaps it was owing to this circumſtance, that the lower orders followed their example. At the houſes of ſeveral of the chief inhabitants we were welcome, and they appeared to repoſe a confidence in us which was very flattering. When in town I dined with ſeveral of them, and frequently found it a difficult matter to obtain leave to depart. With the chief magiſtrate of the town, and ſome officers of the Spaniſh army, I was perſonally intimate, and the Governor's interpreter tendered me his ſervices in any way in his power. He wiſhed me to go with him about three hundred miles up into the country, accompanied by the enſign and a guard, offering me his horſe for this purpoſe, but the ſituation of Mrs. Gregory and the children would not admit of my conſent.

When I have been requeſted to reſide in the coun-

try, I have urged as objections againſt the adoption of this meaſure, my religious ſentiments, and the circumſtance of their being at war with my native land, to which they have made this reply, that my religion would be no obſtacle if I were willing, and as to what reſpected the war between England and Spain, they expected that the next intelligence that would arrive from Europe would be that their King had declared war againſt France, and made peace with us. And although the Governor's order was that all ſhould leave the port with the Buonaparte, ſeveral were willing to ſuſtain all conſequences of diſobedience, and even a prieſt offered his ſervices upon this occaſion, promiſing protection, and every temporal indulgence.

Repeated applications were made for me to go to Buenos Ayres, to undertake the management of naval architecture, from a number of merchants, by whom a gentleman of Monte Video had been aſſured, that if I would conſent to go, and agree to remain for three or four years, they would enſure me as handſome a fortune as any were accuſtomed to acquire in a foreign land; that if I wiſhed to return before the expiration of that time, I might, when an opportunity offered to go by way of North America, but they could not promiſe me ſuch a competency within that time, when if I ſhould prefer my own country, I would be at liberty to depart. About a week before I left the country, Mr. Campbell, the American ſupercargo, was authorized to inform me, by virtue of a letter received from one of the merchants at Buenos Ayres,

brother

brother to the Governor of the province of Paraguay, who had acquainted his brother that having received intelligence of a perſon who had been brought by the French into Monte Video, who would be able to render them ſervice; that application had been made to him for the purpoſe of remaining at Buenos Ayres, but he had ſtarted objections, on account of the non-toleration of his religious ſentiments in the country. On this repreſentation the Governor ordered him to aſſure me, that if my religious principles were the only objections, *they ſhould be connived at*. At times, I have almoſt felt an inclination, as did Mrs. Gregory, to remain, which I believe we ſhould have done, but for theſe three obſtacles, the Miſſionary cauſe in which I was engaged, and which I had no authority or deſire to deſert; their hoſtility to my native country, and the want of liberty of conſcience; for though my ſentiments might have been connived at, they muſt not be promulgated, which I had ſolemnly pledged myſelf to do, and as far as in me lay, *preach among the Gentiles the unſearchable riches of Chriſt*.

After ſome converſation with ſeveral of the Brethren and others upon this ſubject, it ſeemed evident, that a requeſt of ſo ſerious a nature could never have been complied with, but in direct violation of the poſitive command of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, "*Render to Cæſar the things that are Cæſar's, and to God the things that are God's.*" Some others of the Brethren received alſo invitations to the ſame effect. Mr. Jones, who underſtands pottery, was offered his potter's

wheel, which was on board the Duff, if he would continue three years in the country. Mr. Reed and Hayward alſo, received applications to the ſame effect, but a ſimilar anſwer was returned.

During our ſtay at this place we experienced many unpleaſant ſenſations, in reflecting on the manner in which we ſhould yet be diſpoſed of, as we were ſtill detained in the character of priſoners of war. We thought of the cauſe in which we were engaged, the diſappointment of our Brethren at the different Iſles, and the anxiety of our friends in Europe, while we were unable to give them the ſmalleſt intelligence relative to our future deſignation. The Buonaparte was ordered out, and we either to go on board of her or another veſſel under their government. Sometimes there was a probability that we ſhould yet have the Duff, and go forward to complete our miſſion. At other times our reflections took a different turn, and we imagined that we ſhould go to North America, which was more probable than going to England. But after indulging many pleaſing hopes reſpecting our ſhip, Captain Robſon received the information from Carbonelle that *the Duff was ſold*, but that the Portugueſe prize-pacquet was at his ſervice, which he would ſell in exchange for bills on the Miſſionary Society; that he would furniſh her with proviſions and ſtores for one month, and put a French officer on board to take her out of the harbour, under French colours, accompanied by the Buonaparte, and when out fetch him again aboard his own ſhip, and leave us to ourſelves

ourſelves to proceed whither we thought proper, and if to Rio Janeiro, he was willing to convoy us to the mouth of the harbour.

Our Captain immediately communicated this intelligence to the Brethren, for the purpoſe of convening them to take into conſideration the propriety of accepting the French Captain's offer, and proſecuting our Miſſion to the Southern Iſles; and as the order iſſued by the Governor was, that the Buonaparte ſhould leave the harbour in four or five days, no time was to be loſt, and it was therefore agreed that all ſhould meet on the morrow.

Sunday, April 21ſt. This morning, according to appointment, a general meeting of all the Miſſionaries was held, at the houſe adjoining to Monte Video; Mr. Howell preached on the occaſion, from Rom. viii. and part of the firſt verſe, when after the ſervice was concluded, Captain Robſon ſtated his reaſons for calling us together at this time, as neceſſity required that a reſolution ſhould be adopted without delay: the order given to Captain Carbonelle was urgent, and he had expreſſed to him his anxiety, leſt he ſhould be compelled to take us all out, both men, women, and children, in the Buonaparte, and put us on ſhore on the coaſt of Brazil, which would be extremely painful both to him and us.

Some queſtions were then propoſed as we ſtood round our apartment, and a ſeparate anſwer required to each, which was committed to writing: The ſubſtance of which was,

1ſt. The

1ſt. The propriety of our Captain accepting the offer of the French, and purchaſing the brig.

2d. The propriety of endeavouring to go by the weſtern paſſage, round Cape Horn, direct to the Southern Iſles, without touching at any port.

3d. Who were willing to proceed on the Miſſion, if not by way of Cape Horn, by the Cape of Good Hope, where we ſhould call for a ſupply, and if that was not practicable, through ſtreſs of weather, ſail to the coaſt of Africa, and aſſiſt the Brethren there, or wait till our Captain ſhould come with a ſhip from England, and carry us forward.

In anſwer to the firſt, it was agreed that our Captain ſhould embrace the opportunity, and purchaſe the veſſel, after inſpecting her along with Mr. Smith.

To the ſecond propoſition, namely, to go immediately round Cape Horn, it was in general objected, that it was unſafe at this ſeaſon of the year. Moſt needed a ſupply of clothes, which could only be obtained by calling at ſome friendly port; beſides, it had been recommended by the Directors not to proceed by that paſſage.

Inconſidering the third, a diviſion took place, as all did not conceive it to be their duty, in our preſent deſtitute circumſtances, to proceed on the Miſſion. The ſentiment that generally prevailed was,

That the veſſel ſhould be purchaſed, and we would embark when called on in the enſuing week; proceed to the Cape of Good Hope, and thence to the Iſland of Otaheite, as we hoped that the Brethren there had a com-

a competency of thoſe things needed; but if it ſhould appear to Captain Robſon and others, when we got out to ſea, that it would be attended with danger to get to the Cape, we were willing to proceed to Sierra Leone, and ſee if a door was opened to make a farther attempt in propagating the Goſpel among the Africans, or aſſiſt the Brethren already ſettled in that place, or wait till called to proceed to the South Seas.

The Miſſionaries who aſſented to this propoſition were as follow:

Rev. William Howell, Superintendant,
John Beattie, wife and child,
Clark Bentom,
Spence Broughton,
Tho. Fitzgibbons,
Rev. Wm. Gregory, wife and four children,
Geo. Grieg and wife,
John Guard,
Rev. John Hill and wife,
Robert Hughes and wife,
James Jones, wife and two children,
John Jerrard,
Rev. Peter Leveſque and wife,
Daniel Millar,
James Mitchell,
Griffith Parry,
James Reed,
James Smith,
Joſeph Smith,
William Soddy,
Samuel Turner,
William Watters,
Charles Wilſon,
John Youl.

It was therefore reſolved, that after our Captain had ſurveyed and procured the brig on the morrow, that on Tueſday morning we ſhould hold another meeting to conſider our re-embarkation, as by that time a more perfect account could be given.

When

When we had dined we performed our afternoon ſervice, when being called upon, I preached from Iſaiah xxx. 18, &c.—"*And therefore will the Lord wait, that he may be gracious unto you, and therefore will he be exalted, that he may have mercy upon you; for the Lord is a God of judgment: bleſſed are all they that wait for him. For the people ſhall dwell in Zion at Jeruſalem; thou ſhalt weep no more; he will be very gracious unto thee at the voice of thy cry; when he ſhall hear it, he will anſwer thee. And though the Lord give you the bread of adverſity, and the water of affliction, yet ſhall not thy teachers be removed into a corner any more, but thine eyes ſhall ſee thy teachers; and thine ears ſhall hear a voice behind thee, ſaying, This is the way, walk ye in it, when ye turn to the right hand and when ye turn to the left.*"

The ſervice of this day, I believe, was productive of much conſolation to many, and proved none of the barreneſt ſince we left England. At the cloſe of the meeting Captain Robſon expreſſed his concern for Mrs. Jones, who not being yet delivered, he thought it unſafe to take her on board the brig, and mentioned it, as it lay heavy on his mind. When the meeting broke up Brothers Turner, Hill, and I, returned to our dwelling, and found all ſafe.

Monday, 22d. Yeſterday the critical ſituation of Siſter Jones had attracted our attention and concern; but again the Lord mercifully interpoſes, and this obſtacle is removed. About half paſt three, this morning, ſhe was ſafely delivered of a daughter, and in a fair

fair way of doing well; thus every circumstance bore a pleasant aspect for our deliverance and perseverance in that honourable work in which we were engaged. On this occasion Brothers Jones, Turner, Hill, Mrs. Hill, Gregory, and I, unitedly offered our tribute of praise. Mr. Jones gave out this hymn, which had been deeply imprinted on his partner's mind, and then engaged in prayer.

"Lo, from the borders of the grave,
Jesus, thy hand is strong to save,
And thou hast made it bare!
In deep distress thine handmaid pray'd,
And thou hast interpos'd thine aid,
In answer to her prayer.

Oft was her soul depress'd with fear,
As the expected hour drew near,
And greatly did she mourn;
But now her gloomy fears depart,
And smiling mercy melts her heart,
And former joys return," &c. &c.

We spent the day in the participation of the pleasant prospect which now presented itself to our view, but in the very height of our enjoyment another report reached us that rendered the proposed meeting nugatory. A Portuguese merchant had tendered ready cash, the French had sold the prize to him, and all was again enveloped in obscurity and darkness. Our Captain was now in a greater perplexity than ever he had been since our capture, and wholly at a loss what step to take; but after many disagreeable sensations on Tuesday the cloud dispersed, and

the way for our deliverance from this place was made perfectly clear. Captain Carbonelle had agreed with the purchaſer to convey us to Rio Janeiro, and our captain and ſeamen in return undertook to navigate the ſhip: with this arrangement we were ſatisfied, as we doubted not but if we arrived at a friendly port, Providence would open ſome channel for our conveyance, whither it was his ſovereign will. The order was to depart at the end of the week; but Mrs. Jones's ſituation being made known to the Governor, the embarkation was poſtponed for a few days longer.

Friday, 26th. Mr. Jones perceiving his ſpouſe in a conſiderable degree reſtored to health, and knowing it was uncertain how ſoon the order might be given to leave this place, propoſed to dedicate the child to God the next Lord's-day. He accordingly acquainted our Captain, Mr. Smith and Brethren, who intended to be preſent, and requeſted Captain Carbonelle alſo to attend, who expreſſed his readineſs, if poſſible, to accept ſo agreeable an invitation, but was almoſt afraid that the ſtate of the Buonaparte would not admit of his abſence, being under the neceſſity to prepare for ſailing.

Sunday, April 28th. On this day our Captain, chief Mate, ſeveral of the married and ſingle Brethren, aſſembled at our cottage, and the ſecond little ſtranger was preſented to the Lord by the ordinance of his appointment, in this diſtant land: Mr. Howell baptized the child, which was named Ruth; Mrs. Jones, though ſo lately delivered was preſent, and peculiarly

peculiarly ſtrengthened. Surely that promiſe left on record was evidently fulfilled in the caſes of both our females in the time of trial, "*As thy days, ſo ſhall thy ſtrength be.*" Captain Carbonelle, from whom the ſame preſent had been received of chocolate and wine, apologized afterwards to Brother Jones, for not being able to attend; and to compenſate for his inability to obtain any clothes from the Duff, gave him thirty-four dollars for little Ruth.

Wedneſday, May 1ſt. Mr. Turner, Mr. Broughton and I, wiſhing to take as complete a view of the country as our circumſtances and prudence would admit, went this morning on horſeback to ſurvey the high mountain of Monte Video; that from its ſummit, as Moſes from Mount Piſgah, we might take a view of this goodly land which we were about to leave, as any attempt to penetrate far into it would have been attended with much danger both from man and beaſt. We rode on very pleaſantly over hills, and neglected land, having at times to croſs a few brooks, which nearly made our horſes ſwim, till we arrived at the bottom where there is a guard houſe with Spaniſh troops. On our advancing ſome came out, and we thought it ſafeſt to indicate no apprehenſion by riding up to them. After ſome enquiries were exchanged they ſeemed to ſuppoſe us either Frenchmen or North Americans, and on our informing them that we wiſhed to aſcend the mount, they directed us to the beſt way, and pointing to a magazine about a quarter of a mile diſtant, told us that we

muſt not go by that way near it. We proceeded as ordered, and found this road the moſt practicable. We ſoon, however, were compelled to diſmount, and lead our horſes, which, as they were accuſtomed to rough travelling, we got up a conſiderable part of the way, when the remainder being too difficult, we tied them, and climbed to the top, where, ſtanding by the flag-ſtaff, we enjoyed a moſt extenſive proſpect of the country as far as the naked eye could reach, which was to a conſiderable diſtance, as the day was uncommonly clear.

Here on every ſide we beheld a horizon without bounds, while the ſight was tranſported from mountain to mountain, reſting at intervals on the mighty ocean, which can here be traced to a vaſt extent. The imagination now ſeemed to command the whole globe, while our wandering eyes ſurveyed the town, the river, and ſhipping, which appeared little to the view from the height of our ſituation, but were in a moment directed to the vaſt chains of land and rivers, which ran into the fathomleſs deep, or the great river La Plata, while the attention was fixed in beholding the remoteſt objects, and the mounts, rocks, hills, cottages, trees, and torrents, and exulting at the thought of the diminution of things which appeared ſo great, till at laſt this extenſive continent ſunk into nothing.

After enjoying this beautiful and majeſtic ſcene we deſcended, highly gratified, and proceeded to return, as we were apprized of the commiſſion of ſome robberies,

beries, and ſome unpleaſant apprehenſions were entertained at home for our ſafety. Within a mile and an half of the houſe we paſſed a ſmall brook, after which we aſcended a hill: in the valley we perceived three inhabitants on horſeback, to whom we ſcarcely paid the leaſt attention; they took the ſame direction as we did behind, when ſetting their horſes on full gallop, our's were going at the ſame rate before we were well aware, but we did not ſuſpect that there was any deſign in it. They had filled their boſoms with large ſtones from the brook, at the throwing of which they are remarkably expert and certain in their aim, though galloping on horſeback. Immediately I received a blow on the back of my neck with a leather rope, in conſequence of which, and the ſudden attempt to ſtop, I was thrown to the ground, and Dr. Turner's horſe went over me, though without my receiving any injury. On my ariſing, and Brother Turner's enquiring whether I was hurt, theſe three rode towards the brook and collected more ſtones: my horſe by this time had nearly aſcended the hill, and was proceeding homewards, but on a recollection of the fears that his arrival without me might occaſion, the Doctor rode after him to bring him back: during this interval they were coming on Brother Broughton and me with a ſecond attack, when it ſo happened that a Spaniard turned the top of the hill, ſtopped my horſe, and addreſſed Brother Turner, who with him was now returning, which the three immediately on perceiving rode off, and we continued our journey.

ney. On our arrival at home we were ſurprized to find our company in a ſtate of alarm. Brother Jones, whoſe turn it was to procure proviſions for the week, had been purſued nearly down to the dwelling. On his return from town he obſerved ſome laying in wait, who purſued him, when, to eſcape, he rode towards an houſe where we uſually purchaſed bread, and requeſted a guard, which was granted; and a Spaniſh gentleman, who appeared to have perceived ſome deſign, ſent a man who was with him to conduct him part of the way, which was done nearly to the ſame place, when they bade him farewell. But no ſooner had they departed than he was again immediately purſued with a catch-rope, (of which I ſhall afterwards ſpeak more particularly,) but, as his horſe was exceedingly good, he eſcaped. The maſter negro at our premiſes, on hearing the report, immediately mounted my horſe, and rode off with the greateſt ſpeed imaginable; but as the night approached he ſaw nothing of them. What their full intention was I cannot poſitively ſay, but deſire to be thankful in being preſerved among a people who *fear not God nor regard men.* In conſequence of ſome unfavourable reports and appearances of the bad diſpoſitions of ſome of the inhabitants, it was agreed that there ſhould always remain at home three of us ſix men, to protect the females, and the negroes aſſured us that on every occaſion they would willingly lend their aſſiſtance.

Sunday, 5th. We felt happy in having been permitted regularly to increaſe our number from the time

time of our arrival at this houſe, and we now had the company of Brothers Bentom and Jerrard, who, with Meſſrs. Howell, Turner, Broughton, Hill, Jones, and myſelf, held prayer meetings, intentionally, for the laſt time in this place, as we had received orders that to-morrow we muſt embark on board of the brig. Our Brethren at the other houſe held their worſhip, with preaching, morning, afternoon, and evening. This was the laſt Sabbath we ſpent on this unenlightened continent. May the great trumpet of the goſpel ſpeedily reſound through all its diſtricts! May the year of jubilee come, and multitudes ſpend Sabbaths to the praiſe and glory of God.

Monday, 6th. The wind blew too high for our embarkation, and we yet remained as before, but were to be removed on the next morning. This evening the Miſſionary prayer meeting was held to unite with our friends in England, in preſenting ſupplications for the ſucceſs of the goſpel, and we cannot but hope that the prayers put up to God will ſoon be anſwered even in this dark part of the earth, and that the South Americans will one day join with us both in prayer and praiſe, and celebrate the victories which have been atchieved by the croſs of Chriſt.

In leaving this country it is expected that I ſhould give what information I have been able to collect of this place, whither the unerring hand of Providence had conveyed us, which as far as my limits will allow I ſhall attempt.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Deſcription of Rio de la Plata, Harbour of Monte Video, Province of La Plata, Produce, Inhabitants, Dreſs, Cuſtoms, Commerce, Religion, &c.

A Copious deſcription of a country ſo exceedingly extenſive, and ſo little known, cannot be expected in a work ſo conciſe as this Journal. On gentlemen poſſeſſed of ſuperior abilities this laborious taſk muſt devolve. Yet to throw ſome farther light on this important part of the globe, I cheriſh the hope that theſe gleanings, gathered by a captive on the continent, will prove acceptable to the enquiring mind.

Rio de la Plata.—This river, if it may be ſo called, ſeemed to me more like the ocean when we entered it, as no land could be ſeen. It is acknowledged to be the greateſt in the known world, and from the beſt information I could obtain, is fifty or ſixty leagues broad. The Engliſh bank, ſo called, near the entrance, is noted for having been fatal to ſeveral ſhips. It was againſt this bank that the prize which I have already mentioned as having been wrecked, ſtruck in the night, when ſhe was ſailing at the rate of ſeven miles an hour. I have before noticed two rocks which we firſt diſcovered, and within a few miles of Monte Video runs a ſhoal a conſiderable way out into the river, and ſome ſand-banks lay farther up, which ren-

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der the paſſage rather unſafe. Beſides an infinite number of ſmall rivers, it abounds with lakes, ſome of which we could perceive from the mount, I ſuppoſe between thirty and forty miles diſtant, which ran into the country and watered its plains.

About thirty leagues on the north lay the town and harbour of Monte Video, which is formed by a point of land, or the high mountain oppoſite.

The harbour is ſo compact by nature that it forms an excellent bay for ſhips of any dimenſion, which may here ſafely ride at anchor. In appearance near the town, to my view, it ſeemed to reſemble a part of the River Medway, above his Majeſty's dock-yard at Chatham, only conſiderably broader, and the ſhores being rocky, both they and the water were much clearer. At the entrance is a fort, which commands the harbour, but of inconſiderable force, oppoſite to which is the high mountain.

In the harbour lay at anchor, beſides the French ſhips Le Republicain and Le Buonaparte, with the prizes, one good Spaniſh frigate, a large old ſhip in ordinary, one old merchant ſhip repairing, a Spaniſh pacquet, two American ſhips, and a Brig, about twenty ſmall indifferent row gun boats, the Lady Jane Shore convict ſhip; in all, including veſſels of an inferior ſize, between fifty and ſixty.

It abounds with fiſh, which are excellent; the cat-fiſh are numerous, ſome of which are two feet long; a fiſh like a perch, ſmelts, and others, the names of

which I did not underſtand. I ſaw no ſhell-fiſh at this place, except a few muſcles near a rock, that were exceedingly ſmall, and not worth eating. It is ſaid that this river annually overflows its banks, but this I had no opportunity of witneſſing. However, when the wind blew from the ſouth it roſe ſix or ſeven feet, but when it blew from the north or weſt it immediately fell.

Town of Monte Video.—This makes a moſt flattering appearance from a view taken of it in the harbour, for as it riſes from the ſhore its aſcent gives it a very reſpectable look. The landing-place is compoſed of large ſtones roughly put together, at the top of which ſtands a ſentinel on guard, and at a ſmall diſtance a guard-houſe with ſoldiers, and a cuſtom-houſe with officers, who inſpect whatever is brought on ſhore. The houſes are built of large ſtones and bricks, only one ſtory high, a few excepted; their roofs are flat, and the ſame as the floor, where the houſe is floored, though ſome have only earth, and the beſt but bricks. The Governor's reſidence, which is the extent of a large ſquare yard, and reſembles a range of livery ſtables in England, is of this conſtruction: ſome have windows, but few any glaſs, and theſe bear a ſtrong reſemblance to a priſon, others have none. Thoſe that are ſituated at the corner of a ſtreet have two doors, one of which is ſhut on that ſide where the ſun ſhines in the morning, and opened

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in the afternoon. Some few houſes belonging to people of diſtinction are built on a more eligible plan, two and three ſtories high, with a balcony in front. None, however, that I could perceive, either in town or country have any chimnies, except the one which I poſſeſſed. Moſt kindle their fire either in the yard, which is brought into the room when it is wet or cold in fire-pans, or have ſmall fire-holes built in an out-houſe adjacent.

Their ſhops make but a ſorry appearance, as ſcarcely any have a window, ſo that the commodities which they contain can only be perceived within or at the door. Thoſe without the gate are diſtinguiſhed by a ſmall vane or flag, where every article of ſuſtenance is ſold, the landlord of which is at once innkeeper and grocer.

The ſtreets run ſtraight, and croſs each other at right angles, but, with one or two exceptions, they are by far the worſt for travelling that imagination can conceive, for being compoſed of rock-ſtones and ſand, the large cavities make it very diſagreeable both for man and beaſt, eſpecially in rainy weather. My attention has been attracted to behold the oxen drawing their rugged carataas over theſe uneven paths.

As the inhabitants in general ride, they pay little attention to the improvement of their roads, and without town there are ſome places which, by the exertion of a little care and induſtry, might be rendered much more paſſable. Strange as it may ſeem, it is a

fact, that to fill up a hole they have killed one of the team to aſſiſt the wheel in paſſing over.

The town abounds with rats and flies, which are a prodigious plague to all but the inhabitants, and even to them in ſome degree. The rats that have been killed lay copiouſly ſtrewed at morning in the ſtreets, and to keep off the flies in the day they have large bundles of oſtrich feathers, which they uſe for that purpoſe. Near the top of the town is a market-place, about three hundred yards ſquare, whither abundance of fruit is brought, which although ſo plentiful in the country is dear in the town, as the ſeller puts a high value on the trouble with which the carriage of it is attended. On the weſt a large church is building in a ſuperior ſtile, which can be diſcerned at a great diſtance. It has been a few years erecting, and to all appearance two or three more will elapſe before it is completed.

At the extremities of this town they are enlarging and ſtrengthening their fortification, which is compoſed of excellent ſtone; and at the lower end they were building a ſmall veſſel, which I went to ſurvey with an American gentleman and two Spaniards, and was aſked ſeveral queſtions relative to the materials and conſtruction.

The town, as alſo the mountain oppoſite, forming a peninſula, is bounded by the river, except on that part which leads into the country, and is incloſed by a fort-wall and gate, at which a guard of troops is placed

placed with an officer of inſpection, and every evening at eight o'clock the gates are ſhut. Through this gate we daily paſſed, and though we expected frequently to have been interrogated, from a conviction of not having any legal permiſſion from the Governor to be on ſhore, we were never interrupted, and as the cuſtom of the country requires every perſon to ſalute the military officer in paſſing, I regularly complied with it, and he always returned the compliment.

TRADE AND COMMERCE.—Of theſe I can ſay but little, as to all appearance they are carried on in a very inconſiderable degree. Manufactories I was informed are prohibited, for the purpoſe of keeping them in a ſtate of dependance upon Old Spain. Some few mechanics, however, are to be found. Taylors and ſhoemakers form the moſt numerous body of men, who are engaged in regular employment. There are one or two blackſmiths' ſhops, in which charcoal is uſed, and the workmen, though exceedingly ſlow, can finiſh their work tolerably well. The circumſtance that chiefly drew my attention in one of theſe ſhops was, to ſee the maſter nearly as clean as if he had been in a milliner's ſhop. Bullocks' hides, tallow, dried tongues, leopards', tigers', lions', and other ſkins; the drug, called by the name of the country, Paraguay, and ſalt-dried beef, are all articles of exportation; beſides the treaſures of Peru brought down the river, and ſhipped for Old Spain, with other commodities of the country. No ſhips come regularly

regularly to this port, and only three or four make an annual voyage to Europe, and during the war even this ſmall number has decreaſed. Cloathing of every deſcription, and every article of houſhold utenſils are exceſſively dear, and though the houſes are uncomfortable in many reſpects the rent is very high. Notwithſtanding the cargo of the Duff was prohibited to be ſold, the town was never ſo plentifully ſupplied by any ſhip, nor ſo well ſtocked with thoſe neceſſaries which the inhabitants ſo much wanted. Moſt articles of apparel was of four times more value than in England, and even higher. Having loſt my tea-kettle, I enquired the price of two which held about two quarts, one with, and the other without a lid: ſix dollars was the price of the one, three and an half of the other. The rent of a room without window or fire-place, was forty-eight dollars, and one hundred per annum for an houſe, conſiſting of two rooms and a yard; four flat-irons twelve, and one ounce of pins in Engliſh money three ſhillings and ſixpence.

Air, Soil, Produce.—The air of this country is temperate and exceedingly ſalutary, though at mid-day the ſun is very powerful: ſome of the Brethren experienced this in a manner which cauſed them exceſſive pain: having but one ſhirt each, when they got out into the country near ſome water, they put them off for the purpoſe of waſhing, when not aware of the ſun's ſcorching beams, the ſkin was peeled off their backs during the interval.

For ten miles from the town it is hilly, but from that

that it runs ſeveral hundred miles one continued level. Nothing can exceed the fertility of the ſoil, or the beautiful verdure which overſpreads the whole face of the country. The ſoil, without manure, will produce vegetables, almoſt, if not of every deſcription in Europe; Indian and European corn, apples, pears, peaches, nectarines, figs, melons, water-melons, cucumbers, onions, cabbages, lettuces, Cayenne pepper, &c. &c. grow in great plenty; and ſome cherry and walnut trees which had been brought from Europe thrived well in our garden. All the hedges are compoſed of quinces of an excellent quality, ſome of which I have gathered fourteen inches in circumference: and if a proper degree of attention was paid to the cultivation of this country, it would be impoſſible to ſay to what extent the produce might be carried. The valuable herbs, paraguay and ananas, &c. appeared to grow ſpontaneouſly.

This diſtrict differs from other parts of South America, with reſpect to food for the purpoſe of fuel, of which there is but little, and the greateſt part of it is brought from the river St. Lucia. Farther up in the vicinity of Buenos Ayres, within three miles of the ſhore, there is abundance of large, good timber, well adapted both for the building of ſhips and houſes. Near the town is a large quarry of ſtones, in which a number of the natives are employed: and in different directions, about ſix feet from the ſurface, there is a ridge of alabaſter, but it is not uſed in any inſtance. Muſhrooms grow ſpontaneouſly

taneouſly in the plains, but are never eaten by the inhabitants, being conſidered as of a noxious quality, which idea one of them evinced, who, on ſeeing me about to eat one, attempted to prevent me, until I convinced him that they were perfectly harmleſs.

The innumerable heads of cattle will ſpeak for the richneſs of the paſture, which, being elegantly ſtrewed with a variety of flowers, forms a beautiful and odoriferous carpet of nature. In ſome places, for miles, wild artichokes overſpread the ſoil.

ANIMALS.—The animals of this country are numerous, particularly oxen, horſes, ſheep, hogs, mules, dogs, lions, tigers, leopards, wolves, beavers, seals, ermines, horned beadles, ſerpents, adders, &c.—Of the feathered kind, they have geeſe, ducks, pigeons, partridges, oſtriches, a variety of birds of a beautiful ſpecies, and all manner of wild fowl.

Horſes are innumerable, lively, and beautiful; like the Arabian they are only fit for the ſaddle, and are admirable for their make as well as for their ſwiftneſs, and the inhabitants are proud of their long manes and tails. They live entirely in the paſtures, and are frequently uſed throughout the day without either receiving food or water, yet even in theſe circumſtances they refuſed corn. They are not only good but cheap. Even in the neighbourhood of the town, where they are comparatively dear, one at ten dollars can ſcarcely be excelled throughout England.

England. They are ſo trained as to regard no regular road, and quite the reverſe of the Engliſh horſes, when about to aſcend an hill, ſet off at a gallop.

What has been recorded of America in general, will not hold good in reſpect to this province, that *all quadrupeds of this New World are inferior in ſize to thoſe of the Old.*

Oxen are as large in general as thoſe in England, though, as there is not the leaſt attention paid to them, they do not become ſo fat, but finer creatures I ſcarce ever ſaw. Theſe likewiſe are cheap; to pick out one from a herd conſiſting of ſeveral hundreds, not far from town, I have been aſked two dollars; but to go a few miles farther up the country, four for the ſame money; and twelve miles, two for half a crown. Beef, in conſequence is cheap. I have bought as capital a piece as ever I partook of, including the ſirloin, which I ſuppoſe might weigh about 50lbs. for about 3½d. Engliſh money. On my once informing one of the dealers in cattle that a bullock in England coſt five pounds, he ſtood amazed, and began to pride himſelf on his own country. The owner of the Brethren's houſe was one who killed a number almoſt daily, and as often ſent a quarter for our friends, as moſt kill chiefly for the hides and tallow; and I have ſeen ſome hundred carcaſes laying in the fields, which, after being ſkinned were left for dogs, hogs, and birds of prey, which ſwarm in theſe places in vaſt numbers. Farther inland,

bullocks are killed only for the ſake of the tongues, which is the only part they eat.

Mules are very good, which they uſe in their watering carts, and are much larger than in common. Hogs are alſo numerous and excellent. They live upon graſs, fruit, beef, &c. It is a matter of little conſequence to the owner whether they be great or ſmall; their price is about half a crown per head. The ſheep in this country have four horns, but are not ſo fat as the Engliſh; the meat, however, is very white, and as ſweet as lamb. At market a ſheep will coſt 3s. 6d. but in the country they may be bought from 20 to 30 per dollar. Fowls, conſidering the cheapneſs of other proviſions, are exceſſively dear, as they nearly ſtamp them with the ſame value as an ox.

Wild beaſts are numerous and large, both lions, tygers, and leopards, &c. which the natives hunt and bring their ſkins to town for ſale, hundreds of which I have ſeen. Some of the natives, who catch them when young, keep them at the door of their huts like dogs. The tiger of Bengal has been known to meaſure ſix feet in length, and is ſuppoſed to exceed by far thoſe in South America. But although I would pay all due reſpect and deference to gentlemen of ſuperior knowledge, I am compelled to differ from them in opinion, as among ſome ſkins brought to town by the hunters I purchaſed one, which I have now in my poſſeſſion, and which meaſures

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eight feet in length excluſive of the tail. Oſtriches are alſo large and to be found in great numbers.—They will cover an hill; but little notice is taken of them; the only uſe which I ever ſaw made of their feathers was that which I before mentioned, a broom to ſweep away the flies. Partridges are innumerable, and parroquets abound. Around our premiſes were different ſpecies of beautiful birds, two of which more eſpecially claimed my attention. But my ignorance of the names of ſome of theſe creatures neceſſarily makes my deſcription in ſome degree deficient. Theſe were both much about the ſize of a ſky-lark, one of them was as white as ſnow, both as to bill and feet, but the tip of the wings was jet black. The other was exactly the reverſe, completely black, except the wing, as the one was perfectly white. Blackbirds, canaries, and a bird nearly like a ſwallow, which would fly before us when walking, and was rather troubleſome, are to be found in this country. As many of the carcaſes of the bullocks were left in the fields, a vaſt number of birds, like ſea-gulls, would come down together, after the butchers had left the ground, and cover a quarter of a mile of land, ſo that it ſcarcely could be ſeen. The birds neſts appeared to be curiouſly conſtructed, ſome of which I took for the purpoſe of inſpection: they were built around branches near the ſtem of the tree, of different materials, ſuch as mud, &c. as big as a large cocoa-nut; in the moſt concealed part is the entrance, which runs round the fabric like a periwinkle, till at

the bottom is a feathered neſt, much like thoſe in England. It is difficult to procure either young or eggs from ſuch a building, and it was ſome time before I was able fully to inſpect the whole.

The only fiſh I ſhall notice, in addition to what I mentioned before, was one of the ſeveral kinds which were in the river at the bottom of my orchard, ſome of which we caught: they were about the ſize of a flounder, and between the ſhape of that and the perch; its head was very like a rat's, very dark, and the fins were broadeſt near the tail.

Dogs are numerous, of different ſpecies, diſagreeable and dangerous: of theſe I ſhall only treat of two ſorts; ſeveral kinds as in England are in general to be ſeen, only theſe were very large. Moſt huts on the outſide of the town keep from eight to twelve of theſe animals, which are exceedingly troubleſome to all paſſengers, and will ſurround horſe and man. Brother Joſeph Smith had his leg torn very much by one of theſe creatures; they are dangerous to paſs in the day, but it is much worſe in the night. The other ſpecies are what the inhabitants call fire-dogs; theſe are not ſo large, have no hair, and their ſkin feels more like human; they are uſed by theſe people in the cool weather to ſleep at their feet to keep them warm. I muſt confeſs that to me they had a diſagreeable appearance. The abundance of heads, entrails, feet, &c. which are left at the different places of ſlaughter, afford plenty of proviſion for theſe numerous creatures, which ſo rapidly increaſe that if

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means were not uſed they would prove more deſtructive: to prevent which the Governor orders the ſoldiers for a number of days, twice every year, to kill all that they meet, and by theſe means thouſands are ſlain.

INHABITANTS, DRESS, CUSTOMS, &c.—Theſe, the negroes excepted, are Spaniards and South American natives, and of theſe I ſhall only ſpeak reſpecting what fell under my own obſervation. The Spaniards here are a people who live in opulence and indolence, moſt ſervile work being executed by negroes and natives, and few families of any note having leſs than ſix if not more negroes to attend upon them. I ſcarcely know in what manner to deſcribe their characters, in order to do them juſtice. There appeared to be ſuch a mixture of effeminacy and auſterity in their diſpoſition: at one moment they will manifeſt that feeling ſympathy which is ſufficient to affect the beholder; at another they ſeem to be capable of alarming the ſtranger. Many of them, as the narrative will prove, behaved with conſiderably more than common kindneſs towards us, but from what motive I preſume not to ſay. I believe it to be my duty to ſpeak of a ſtranger who acts with kindneſs as of a friend; and in a moral ſenſe regard neither country nor religion, but conſider all men as deſcended from the ſame common parent, and therefore *do unto others as he would wiſh others to do unto him*, while I always conſidered and ſaw innumerable evidences, that the extraordinary kindneſs ſhewn us in a

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ſtrange land was in conſequence of the omnipotent, over-ruling power of God, who evinced to evident demonſtration that he could compel enemies to entreat us well, ſtop, even in their own dens, lions' mouths, open ſinners' hearts, conſtrain ravens to feed the needy; and not only afforded us protection, but fulfilled his promiſe: *Bread ſhall be given them, and water ſure.* For the declaration is, that *Moab* and *Babylon* ſhall open their gates and hearts, and afford a refuge when our God gives the word.

The heat of the ſun may occaſion ſome ſmall difference between the complexion of the Spaniards here and in Europe: they are dark, but a few of the ladies are fair. The troops wear long black whiſkers, and make but an indifferent appearance. The gentlemen differ but little in their dreſs from Europeans, wear cloaks, and without them in London would be taken for livery-ſervants. The dreſs of the ladies differs more: they wear no caps, but their long hair is tied all round in a bunch at the top, and ſome have elegant circular combs: they uſe no gown, but a ſhort jacket, which covers the top of their petticoat or other apparel, and ſhoes ſingularly high: they cover the head, and nearly the face, with a hood, which comes round over the ſhoulders, and being black, when they go to maſs, with their beads and crucifixes on their arms; I have taken them at a diſtance for a company of friars. The children of both ſexes are dreſſed to one of a month old, as nearly as poſſible in the ſame ſtile, are put into breeches before the month, and

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when it is poſſible to collect the hair either in a bunch or tie it is done, and powdered; nay, in town, little creatures that can ſcarcely run alone, and others in their mothers' arms are dreſſed in this manner.

It is the univerſal cuſtom immediately after dinner for both ladies and gentlemen to retire to bed, and they would be as much diſappointed if prevented from doing ſo as we would for want of a night's reſt. The curious manner in which the ladies drink their tea, which they call *mattee*, rather ſurpriſed us: this herb ſo generally uſed is put into a cup, which commonly is the ſhell of a pomegranate, the ſtem of which is turned to form a handle; in this the tea is put, both the leaf and pieces of the ſtem, when pouring hot water upon it they draw the liquid through a tube, which is made either of graſs, tin, or ſilver, and while partaking of it look as if they were ſmoking a pipe. Its taſte is bitter, and few of us had much reliſh for it. Some of the chief people have pots of ſilver, which look very well; this drink is more univerſally uſed than perhaps any other by people of every deſcription, and the ladies, content with water, can ſcarcely be prevailed to taſte ſpirits or wine, ſome of which they have; the wine, both red and white, is of their own manufacturing, but the ſpirits are imported from the Brazils.

Among the cuſtoms and manners of theſe people the firſt that I noticed was, what I ſuppoſed to be treating me with diſdain; for when they call to each other they hiſs as an Engliſhman would do by way

of

of contempt, which, till I perfectly underſtood their meaning, was the conſtruction which I put upon it. The fraternal embrace is common among the men on their ſaluting each other, and they make much ado with a friend.

NATIVES.—The natives of Paraguay differ from the Spaniards both in perſon and dreſs: their complexion is of an olive hue and rather darker than the other. They are of a middling ſtature and well made, have flat faces, and jet black long ſtout hair. They ſeem in general to be a quiet though a robuſt people, and yet ſome few exhibit a diſpoſition quite the reverſe. An oblong garment, like a ſtriped rug, about a yard wide, with a hole in the middle to admit the head, hangs down before and behind, with the ſides open, falling looſe as low as the knees, and leaving the arms unreſtrained, like the natives of Otaheite and other iſlands in the Pacific Ocean, of which it is probable that the natives of South America are the original ſtock; for as it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe that theſe iſlands have been peopled by emigration, the continent, it may be preſumed, was the moſt likely place whence they originally came. Their ſtockings and boots are made of ſkins, flayed from the legs of horſes and oxen, which in ſhape are exactly the ſame as when taken from the beaſt, as they never cut or alter them. Their ſhoes are merely a piece of ſtout ſkin turned up, with holes, and tied with ſlips of the ſame: they wear drawers over a ſhort petticoat, which at the knee forms a fringe: thoſe near

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town have jackets which they wear under the oblong cloth, and the head is covered with a ſmall hat, tied under the chin, which they looſen when they ſalute each other. Their huts, according to the common deſcription given of the Indians, are conſtructed much upon the ſame principle. The rough branches of trees tied together with pieces of the ſkins of beaſts, the roof of which is covered with long graſs, ruſhes, and weeds, are the materials of which an hut is built. Four ſticks tied at each corner, with a bullock's hide, make their bed, hung up in the hut. Round ſome of theſe huts a wall is erected about four feet high, entirely built of bullock's heads, one above the other, with the horns, as cut from the animal's neck. Theſe men are healthy, and exceedingly alert, eſpecially on horſeback, to which they are trained from their childhood. Their food chiefly conſiſts of beef, fruit, and water; and the uſual method of cooking is to ſuſpend the beef over the fire on the earth, with a ſpit of wood or iron, from which they cut pieces when little better than warm.

Both Spaniards and natives always carry long knives at their ſide, and even children are indulged in the ſame liberty, to which they apply for defence as naturally as one would in England to return another a blow on the face.

Their manner of catching bullocks to kill, which is repreſented in the plate, is ſingular: if it is a ſingle one they want, they ride after him over the plains till he is caught; but if more than one, they at different

places have pinfolds, into which they drive a number. When ready to begin, two mount their horſes, with a catch-rope 100 yards in length, having a long nooſe at one end, while the other is faſtened to a ring in the ſaddle; one now rides in among the oxen, throws the rope around the horns of the one which he chooſes and gallops out. The creature finding himſelf entangled, generally runs to the extremity that the rope will admit, and the horſe draws him near a ſuitable place. The other native is now ready to watch the opportunity of the prancing of the beaſt, and after ſwinging the rope ſeveral times over his head, throws it with a dexterity peculiar to theſe men, and in one minute will catch him round the hind leg. Both horſes now draw the rope tight in two oppoſite directions, and they are ſo trained to this exerciſe as to ſtand ſo firm that the bullock cannot move. Another man who is ſtanding by with a large knife, now advances to the animal, which, if he ſuppoſed not to be ſteady, he cuts the ham-ſtrings of the hind leg that is not ſecured, upon which the bullock immediately falls, when his throat is cut right acroſs, and he is ſoon dead. However a ſtranger to theſe ſcenes may be led to ſuppoſe this a tedious proceſs, it is aſtoniſhing with what expedition they will execute the taſk. From my own obſervation they have caught two, which have been both dead in eight and ten minutes; others ſtand ready to ſkin them, which they ſoon effect as they lay on the ground, which being done they cut the carcaſe into quarters; near the town they are

ſold

ſold, each at a price equivalent to 10d. and 1s. 2d. in Engliſh coin; and if a ſtranger who is by want a piece, an heart or ſome kidneys, it is at his ſervice.

By the ſame method which they employ in catching the oxen they catch horſes in the fields, and robbers catch a man to plunder or kill him, by means of his rope, he can be drawn from his horſe, and rendered incapable of reſiſtance; and we were told ſeveral anecdotes of their expertneſs in this act. It was evident that though round the town the natives are ſubmiſſive, the people are far from being wholly under reſtraint by the Spaniards, as none of them will venture far up without fire-arms and a guard; yet I believe that frequently the deſire of apparel is the only motive that tempts them to this outrage.

Entertaining favourable ſentiments of theſe people, I frequently made a tour round to different huts alone, of which, within a few miles, ſcarcely any eſcaped my notice, and I uſually found them give me a friendly reception, and if any refreſhment was wanted, ſuch as they had they gave it at different times. When our beef had run out I have begged ſome, which was readily given, and although during the night they are always ſuſpicious, yet even then it has been granted. One day I croſſed the head of the river at the bottom of the orchard, and took a direction different from any I had taken before. In a field of Indian corn I met a man, of whom I enquired if any reſided at an houſe within ſight. When he replied in the affirmative, I advanced, and diſcovered a number of Spaniards, na-

tives and negroes, to my view, of a very unpleasant appearance. I immediately resolved in myself not to hold much conversation, yet I was persuaded that to pass and attempt to evade them would be deemed an insult, and expose me to greater danger. I therefore advanced, and was immediately surrounded, when after giving the regular salutation and exchanging several enquiries, while I indicated no apprehension, I was suffered to depart, when I proceeded by a way in which I supposed that I should not be within sight of these men; however, as the sun was now declining, after I supposed that it was practicable to return home without coming near them again I returned, when, as I was going down a hill to make as direct a cut as possible, the sun dipped below the horizon: it was soon nearly dark, when looking out towards these huts I perceived one on horseback with his catch-rope, coming down after me, with another walking alongside of him; apprehension now painted my situation; I knew that they did not like to go out at night, that no house or place was near to which he could advance, or oxen or horse, and that I therefore was his aim: as he advanced the man by his side drew off from the horse, and he threw the rope at him by way of exercise, and then both came forward together. At the bottom of this hill there was a considerable number of fruit and other trees like a wood, but I perceived that if I ran it was impossible for me to reach the same before he could overtake me, and to run I concluded would convince him that I was aware of

of his design. I walked however as rapidly as possible, and seemingly unconcerned, though frequently looking to see how fast he approached; ejaculating the desires of my heart, I looked for protection to him who had hitherto been my help; and I soon saw them by their gestures hold some conversation together, and the one on foot refuse to proceed any further, and turned back; however the one on horseback still persevered, and while I continued to mend my pace, at intervals he began to gallop, and then turning his horse round stood as if pausing whether he should proceed; this he did twice or thrice, and then having advanced within my hearing hailed me to stop, to which I paid no attention, and having by this time got so nigh the wood as to satisfy me, that if I speedily advanced I could enter before he could overtake me, that his rope would be of no use among the trees, and that if I took a zig-zag road as it was night he would not pursue me. I now ran, entered the wood, and he followed, but as I took a different course, he never overtook me, but returned, and I reached my cottage in peace.

At another time, being benighted I lost my way, and after riding for some time I applied to an house for direction to my cottage, when I was informed that it was impossible for me to reach it that night, and I had much better tarry there till morning. This I refused to do, and entreated for a guide, which at last was granted, when we rode on together for about two miles and he then left me, totally ignorant what course

courſe to take. I aſcended an hill to ſee a light, which, when I diſcovered, I advanced to the houſe, and was quickly ſurrounded by all whom it contained. They alſo requeſted me to abide with them, but with the invitation I could not comply. After a ſhort time they overcame their ſurprize, and one was ordered by the chief, I ſuppoſe, of the hut to get his horſe and accompany me home. He accordingly mounted, taking his knife with him, and ſet off croſſing a gap in the road, in which he was in a minute, and deſired me to follow, which I did, when converſing as we rode, on account of the knife I always kept him before me. On our coming to a ſteep place into which he was about to lead his horſe, he diſmounted, and deſired me to follow his example, which I did, and led mine after his, when, after ſpending ſome uncomfortable hours, we both arrived in ſafety at my home. For his trouble and fidelity I made him ſome compenſation, with which he was highly pleaſed, and returned home ſinging. I was thankful too, that from every danger, ſeen and unſeen, the good hand of God had preſerved me.

The following is another method practiſed at one of the bullock-killing places: In a pinfold where there are a great number, a machine is erected with a pulley and a winch, which heaves their heads through an opening without, and a man with a dagger ſtabs it between the horns in the pith of the neck, ſo that his death is almoſt inſtantaneous, when being laid on a ſledge he is drawn to be flayed.

I never

I never saw them either kill or eat calves or sucking pigs, and at first on understanding that this was their custom, I was ready to attribute the multitude of cattle to this cause. But what I afterwards beheld convinced me that this was not the case. Being once offered a young pig during my wife's lying in, I readily accepted the offer, and went for the same, but was disappointed when I saw the state in which I must receive it. Two young ones were presented, red as blood, little bigger than large rats.—They killed the sow for the pigs, and in the same manner they will kill a cow for the calf. Reflecting that this practice was brutal, I remonstrated on the impropriety of it, but received as answer, that it was their custom, and they were very good eating.

The saddles and stirrups which are used in this country are curious and clumsy, and their bridles painful to the poor animal. It is difficult to give a description of the saddle; it chiefly consists of three or four pieces of sheep skin, which are first put on the back, then a horse-cloth doubled, next two large pieces of leather curiously cut round the border, when the saddle is placed and fastened on with a girth, and a large rough skin covers the whole. The stirrups are of various kinds, some being only pieces of wood bent in a triangular form, while others are clumsy logs, with a hole cut for the admission of the toes, and curiously carved like the Otaheitean clubs. Some bridles have a little wheel cut in notches, which when pulled rattles and cuts the animal's tongue to a great degree;

degree; and others have a piece of iron, which lays flat upon the tongue, both of which have a powerful effect upon their horſes in keeping a tight rein.

The following is the mode in which they mix their clay for bricks: Looſe clay is collected within a large circle, incloſed at the borders partly by the ſame and partly by ſtakes, to which leathern ropes are tied. When they are ready to work it up, from twenty to thirty horſes are driven within the bounds, and a native mounting one with a long leathern rope drives them about, while others ſtand without with water to throw on the clay, and in this manner they continue, till all are not only fatigued but covered with mud.

They burn the bricks, with the bones and heads of bullocks, as a ſubſtitute for wood. They not only build a part of their houſes with theſe bricks, but in the town there are two or three walls, ſixty feet in circumference, in which is excellent water caught from the heavens in the rainy ſeaſon, conveyed by a ſpout from the top of the houſes, which being level, and made like a vat, contains a great quantity, ſufficient indeed to ſupply a whole year. The top of the well is encloſed to a ſmall extent; they have a pully, with a bucket to draw it up, and it is remarkably clear. The chief houſes only in town have this convenience; but water is brought alſo to town in water-carts, from holes dug in the ſand near the river, which is very good, and ſo indeed is the water throughout the country.

From what information I was able to collect, this

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town and its vicinity are under the controul of a Governor, who is ſubordinate to the Vice-Roi, whoſe place of reſidence is Buenos Ayres, the metropolis of the province, and who, in conjunction with a civil officer, ſuperintends all criminal proceſſes. When a priſoner is committed he remains as long as the Governor thinks proper, and the verdict of theſe men is abſolute: if for impriſonment few have any knowledge of the term that it is to laſt; and I was told of one man who hath been in confinement upwards of fourteen years. Few executions it would appear take place, but when they do the criminal is hung, and ſhot while hanging.

Bread, which here is equivalent to about 7d. per quartern loaf, in England is unalterably fixed, which renders monopoly leſs practicable, as thoſe who ſow, reap, or ſell, can obtain no advantage whatever, by detaining it from market. The ſize of the loaves is made to correſpond with the different ſmall coins of the country.

I already hinted that I would take ſome farther notice relative to the Lady Jane Shore, and the convicts who were tranſported in her from England; but my limits will allow me to ſay but little. It appeared that on the firſt arrival of this ſhip the Spaniards behaved kindly to the females, and received them into ſeveral of their houſes: but the conduct of too many evinced the doctrine of the bible, that no puniſhment or affliction can, without ſovereign grace, change the human heart. As they had lived in England, ſo did

they here, and becoming odious to the chief of the people, ſeveral were ſent up into the country; and we were cautioned to keep at a diſtance from thoſe who remained in town; this we did, and denied them the privilege of viſiting us, which they were at firſt very forward to do: but Dr. Turner and I giving them information that they were prohibited from holding any converſation with our females, we received ſome abrupt anſwers, and they departed. We ſaw two or three men, who, we ſuppoſed, were a part of the mutinous crew, and ſome of theſe, we believe, ſailed in the Republicain about a fortnight before we left the country. From what accidental information we received, we alſo underſtood that the perſon who murdered the Captain was the ſame who was lately executed for the crime, and from a paper which was dropped by one of the convicts, it appears that regulations were immediately afterwards adopted for the government of the ſhip, which now lay unrigged, except her lower maſts, and was ſold, if my memory does not fail me, for forty thouſand dollars.

Religion.—The deſcriptions already given of the religious ceremonies, are ſufficient to prove that the religion eſtabliſhed at this port is that ſanctioned by the church of Rome. Here, as alſo at the Brazils, this only is encouraged, and altars every where are erected to ſpeak the ſentiments of the inhabitants. Almoſt every houſe in town, and even Indian huts in the neighbourhood, bear indiſputable marks of their profeſſion. Some have cruciſixes made of ſilver, others

others of wood, and others of paper, and generally a conſecrated niche for the image to ſtand in. Some have images of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, moſt of the Virgin Mary, others of ſaints, beſides pictures, which are incloſed by curtains, and tapers, which they burn on particular days. On the top of ſome hills are croſſes, with latin inſcriptions, and they pay a ſuperſtitious adoration to whatever bears a reſemblance to the ſhape of a croſs. As I do not deſign to enter into the myſteries of this religion, ſuffice it to ſay, that it is ſuch as is taught by the clergy of the church of Rome, and on which they appear to reſt all their hopes of future happineſs. The Indians, however, farther up the country, differ both in manners and religion, and are regardleſs of all reſtraint. It is evident, that this country is far from being wholly ſubdued or explored, even by the Spaniards themſelves. Theſe people principally live on beef and water, without ſalt, which, though bad, is a ſcarce and valuable commodity here, as they have none in town, but what is imported. Brother Millar, who had gone with others ſome little way into the country was interrupted, and the party being diſperſed he fell into their hands, and was ſtripped of his clothes, but received no farther injury.

We frequently held converſations with the inhabitants on religious ſubjects; for although they underſtood not a ſingle word of Engliſh, we had acquired during our reſidence among them, in ſome ſmall meaſure, a knowledge of the Spaniſh, which enabled us

to addreſs them, but with prudent caution, as we knew the exiſting law and its conſequences. They have informed us, that in England they underſtood we were not chriſtians, but we aſſured them in return that we profeſſed the knowledge of the only true God, and that the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, whom we worſhipped, demanded more the affections of the heart than abſtinences from meats, numerous ceremonies, or rigorous penances.

The Spaniſh gentry are not aſhamed to teach their negroes the external forms of religion, ſuch as ſaying grace at meals, &c. When I dined a number were called into the room before I knew for what purpoſe they were collected, when they began to croſs themſelves and gibber, after which they retired.

Should an European come among them who had never been baptized according to the Romiſh form, at the time when he is admitted within the pale of the ſanctuary, the chief people are nominated ſponſors, who in paſſing to and from the church, throw money among the populace on this occaſion.

In general they ſeemed ſatisfied with our converſation, and from what I could perceive, they ſeemed to have a reliſh for inſtruction, and to be very tractable; and I have not the ſmalleſt doubt that if it ſhall pleaſe the Lord to open a door in his providence, by granting liberty of conſcience to the inhabitants of this country, the preaching of Chriſt and him crucified, would be attended with the happieſt effects Here evidently will be a large field for Miſſionary labours,

labours, when the Lord's appointed time is fully come to favour this extenſive continent with the bleſſings of the glorious goſpel of the ever bleſſed God. Myriads of unenlightened ſouls might be brought to enjoy this favour, and the temporal produce of the country would not then conſtitute their chief good.

I cannot cloſe this ſubject without pleading that our God may give the word, and that great may be the company of thoſe who publiſh it.

Tueſday, May 7th. Having previouſly prepared for quitting this country, and collected a quantity of fruit for the voyage, this morning the coach and four was ſent from Monte Video to bring us to town, from this houſe where the kindneſs of our God had fixed us, and which our humane benefactor had ſo generouſly tendered in the day of our captivity. About eleven o'clock we took our farewell of the poor negroes, who aſſembled to take their laſt view of us with reſpect and affection. The poor woman could not refrain from ſhedding tears on this occaſion, when we bade them adieu.

Mrs. Jones, Mrs. Gregory, and children, Mrs. Hill, and Mr. Howell, entered the coach, and with me proceeded towards the town, during which time I was pleaſed, as on the day we came up with the natural enjoyments it afforded, but rather more affected at leaving it, when I read that hymn,

"Lord, what a wretched land is this,
That yields us no ſupply," &c.

And was forcibly ſtruck with the ſuperiority of ſpiritual to temporal bleſſings. On our arrival at the other

other Brethren's houſe we found that we were not to embark to day, and were to remain in town till to-morrow; we, therefore, proceeded to Monte Video, where an elegant dinner was prepared by Captain Carbonelle, who was to dine with us, and all the French officers.

As many applications had been made to me in town to indulge ſeveral ladies with the company of Mrs. Gregory and children, which our great diſtance from town and her ſituation would not admit; however by this delay, I hoped to gratify them, and deſigned to ſtop before I went to the place appointed, for which purpoſe we alighted, and our ſiſters proceeded on: but we had ſcarcely entered into converſation when a meſſenger was diſpatched, and we left them with the promiſe to return.

The attention ſhewn us this day by the French officers was remarkable, they behaved to us with reſpect, and to the children with kindneſs. After dinner Captain Carbonelle informed me that he had taken lodgings for us in town 'till we went on board, but I apologized, and told him that I had previouſly engaged to ſleep at a Spaniſh houſe in the town, which was both acceptable to him and us.

After dinner our females, Captain Robſon, Mr. Howell, and I, took a walk in the town, and called on Mr. Campbell, the American gentleman, and afterwards proceeded to the Spaniſh houſe, where I, with my family, was to lodge. Here we were welcomed with pleaſure, and after an interview, which laſted for an hour, our ſiſters departed to their apartments,

ments, Captain Robſon to the ſhip, and Mr. Howell to accept of the bed, which had been prepared for me by the French Captain, leaving us to ſpend the evening with theſe ſtrange friends. Soon a number of ladies and gentlemen aſſembled at this houſe, who came to gratify their curioſity, by taking a view of theſe ſtrange viſitors, after which they prepared a ſupper for us, and would perſonally wait on us at table.

The children were put to reſt in a large hall about eighty feet long, and we expected that as they were tired and heavy they would ſoon fall aſleep, which, however, was not the caſe for ſome time, in conſequence of the curioſity of many who repeatedly preſſed to ſee them, and prevented them for a conſiderable time from enjoying any repoſe. After ſupper we alſo retired to reſt in the ſame place, and were thankful for the comfortable ſituation which had been aſſigned us.

CHAP. VI.

Re-embarkation, and Sailing from Rio de la Plata, with Particulars of the Second Capture, and Diſtribution of the Miſſionaries among the Portugueſe Fleet.

Wednesday, May 8th.

THE morning in which we re-embarked and quitted this country arrived, when our Brethren and Siſters left their houſe, and came to town, and what bedding, &c. we had was taken aboard the brig.

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On their leaving the houſe ſeveral of the women were much affected at parting with them, and evidently would have been much better ſatisfied if ſome had remained.

In the morning Mrs. Gregory and the three eldeſt children accompanied me in a walk round the town, leaving little Ebenezer with the Spaniſh ladies 'till our return. Little buſineſs was attended to in any houſe while we paſſed, as we particularly arreſted their attention, while fruit of various ſorts was put into the hands of the children, and having procured ſome things which were neceſſary for the voyage we returned, and met with Brothers Bentom and Jerrard: I took them with me, and we dined together comfortably at the houſe of our new friend. We now requeſted permiſſion to depart, but could not yet obtain their full conſent, for having procured tea from the Duff they inſiſted on making us ſome before we left them, when, afterwards, a negro was called to carry what we had down to the boat, and reluctantly we bade each other adieu.

About ſix o'clock we proceeded to the ſhore, accompanied by ſeveral of the inhabitants, and as they had obſerved me during the day looking at ſome fine ducks, for which they ſuppoſed I had a deſire, they ſent two of them by a boy along with us to be put into the boat. All our Siſters were on board, and we met our Captain coming for us, when we alſo ſoon quitted the ſhore, which Providence had appropriated for our reception in the hour of trial and affliction,

and

and once more embarked to encounter the dangers of the mighty deep. It was impoſſible for us to avoid reflecting on the myſterious leadings of Divine Providence. We recollected that on this day being the ſecond Wedneſday in May, the *anniverſary meeting of the Miſſionary Society would be held in London.* Our reflections were acute when we knew that thouſands of the friends of Zion and Miſſionary efforts would be united in pleading for us, as deſignated to the diſtant iſles, while we were embarking in an enemy's port, after the loſs of our ſhip and property, as a cartel of priſoners of war. In this character we now ſtood, as a certificate was given to Captain Carbonelle by Captain Robſon, with the names of every mariner, woman and child, that an equal number of French priſoners might be exchanged on his arrival in Europe. We knew that a knowledge of our ſituation would have cauſed Zion's children to be cloathed in ſackcloth and aſhes, and the multitude collected would have compoſed a ſorrowful aſſembly.

Thurſday, May 9th. This morning all hands were buſy in fixing our births, as well as circumſtances would admit; but they were rather uncomfortable on account of our number and the ſmallneſs of the brig. A bullock's hide laſhed up at each corner, and the deck, now compoſed the generality of bedſteads, but conſidering every circumſtance, we ſurely had abundant reaſon to be thankful.

Captain Carbonelle continued to manifeſt his attention to the preſervation of our health, and this day

ſent aboard ſix young cows, with two large hogs, for our live ſtock, which were conſidered as ſufficient to furniſh us with freſh meat till our arrival at Rio Janeiro, provided we enjoyed a favourable voyage. After they were got on board the cows being unruly, one ran overboard, and was drowned.

Having no expectation of ſailing till next day, as ſome of us had forgotten to procure ſeveral neceſſary articles, Brothers Leveſque, Turner, Youl, and I, went on ſhore in the afternoon, when immediately after we had landed, the ſignal-gun was fired, and the Buonaparte and brig were compelled to weigh anchor without our knowledge. Meſſrs. Leveſque and Youl having ſoon obtained what they wanted, returned to the beach and embarked, and I, parting from Dr. Turner to call for a letter, the Doctor proceeded to the landing-place, as I alſo did, in a quarter of an hour, when, on my arrival, I ſaw the ſhips under weigh, and an American boat belonging to the Diana, of Baltimore, the officer of which had been hailed by our Captain, to ſeek after us, was now putting off from the ſhore, when running I entered it, and found Dr. Turner. After they had rowed for a mile we reached the brig, and thus narrowly eſcaped being left behind; for if this boat had not come in queſt of us none from the ſhore dared to have taken us off, according to the law of the country, after the officer of inſpection has left a ſhip, and the Americans informed us that they expected to be taken before the Governor for the offence.

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We ſailed this evening about ſix P. M. in the prize-brig, Poſtillihio, from Monte Video, in company with the French privateer, Le Grand Buonaparte, with a light breeze, leaving our ſhip, the Duff, in the hands of Spaniards, ſhe having been ſold for thirty-eight thouſand dollars, after her cargo was taken out.

In leaving this country to launch out into the trackleſs ocean, it may be neceſſary to take notice, for the ſatisfaction of the friends of any who embarked in the Duff, how all were diſpoſed of at this preſent time.

On board of the Roſe American brig, Captain Croney, bound to Philadelphia, North America, which ſailed from Monte Video, on Tueſday, March 26th, Mr. Wilſon, third mate of the Duff; Robert Hall, carpenter; James Anderſon, ſeaman.

Left on ſhore in the town of Monte Video: Thomas Shaw, ordinary ſeaman; Henry Denyner, ſeaman.

On board of the American ſhip, Diana, Capt. Bunker, bound to Baltimore, North America; William Daſs, ſeaman, on board the American ſhip, Liberty, Capt. Millar, bound to Philadelphia; Richard ———, ſeaman, at work on board of a ſhip in the harbour, 'till he ſuited himſelf.

All the Miſſionaries, women and children, with the Captain, officers, and the other mariners, were now on board of this brig.

Here we may ſtand ſtill, trace and ſurvey the myſterious leadings of an all-wiſe Providence, and the *viſible diſplay of mercy*, manifeſted in our behalf, at leaving this port. We were brought even in a ſtate

of captivity, among who, by nation and religion, were our profeſſed enemies, yet here the Lord preſerved us from every danger, gave us favour in their eyes, and brought us out in ſafety at a ſhort, but appointed time, fulfilling his word concerning us, "*He brought out his people with joy, and his choſen with gladneſs.*" *Not an hoof* of the Miſſionaries was left behind, either living or dead, nor was any impediment that ſtood in the way too great for our God to remove. "*He led his little flock,*" (that came out in the ſhip Duff,) "*like a ſhepherd, gathered the lambs in his boſom, and gently led thoſe who were with young.*"

The kind treatment ſhewn by the enemy, to our females and children, is a deciſive proof of this. The peculiar evidences of preſervation and protection confirm the ſame, and the ſupport granted in the hour of Nature's ſorrow, in bringing to the birth, and giving ſtrength to bring forth, with the time, place, and circumſtances, are as ſo many proofs, that even ſtammering tongues muſt ſpeak plainly. It is true that we were not ſuffered to recover the Duff, nor yet to purchaſe the brig: but behold, that God who *preſerved our going out* from England, *and our coming into* this port, when the neceſſary time required for the ſafe deliverance of thoſe of our wives who needed was expired, appointed the means, prepared the channel, preſented an open door to our view, which no man nor obſtacle could prevent, kindly provided without the expence of purchaſing the ſame, and *a way was opened in the mighty deep for the ranſomed of the Lord*

to pass through, and even the national animosities subsisting between our enemies, turned out rather for the furtherance of our deliverance; for *they said among the heathen they shall no more sojourn.* But the Lord proved that *the bound of our habitation was fixed.*

I cannot omit here noticing part of a letter, which I received from the Rev. Mr. Howell, though of a later date, while we were separated, as the contents are suitably applied to the time we sailed from Monte Video.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I have collected no less than eight remarkable answers to prayer when on board of the "Buonaparte. You will, I dare say, be gratified by a "recital of them, and perhaps may be able to add to "the list.

"1st. We prayed that the Lord would give us favour in the eyes of those who had taken us captive. "Answered.

"2d. That we might have no engagement with an "enemy, which we so much dreaded. Answered.

"3d. That the Lord would dispose the Captain to "shorten the cruise. Answered. It lasted for three "weeks only, instead of three months.

"4th. As it was calm for two days when the cruise "was finished, that the Lord would give us a fair "wind. Answered that very day.

"5th. For an enlargement of water, when many "of the Brethren were afflicted with violent thirst. "Answered that day.

"6th.

" 6th. We prayed that the Lord would give us a " safe and speedy passage. Answered.

" 7th. That we might find our company well, and " well done to. Answered.

" 8th. That the Lord would preserve us from the " calamity of being made prisoners at an enemy's port, " and that the inhabitants might be inclined to shew " us favour, &c. &c. Answered.

" O the wonderful goodness of God! May we ever " love and praise him. Let such tokens of his most " kind attention to ungrateful, rebellious worms of the " earth, live in our memories, and be imprinted on " our walk and deportment as long as we live.

" I remain, dear Sir, very truly, your's, &c.

" W. HOWELL."

I feel myself thankful for the recital of these special answers to our supplications, and can bear witness with the Brethren to the truth of the same from happy experience, and must add to this number what I have recorded, and continue the list.

9th. When crouded together below in the night, nearly suffocated by heat, many of us despaired of being able to survive. We prayed that the Lord would keep us alive, though in this state, that we might see our families again with joy. Answered.

10th. Believing that the painful separation would be too much for our wives to sustain, without a divine support, and that they would be ready to despair of seeing us again, we prayed that they might be supported under the trial, rest satisfied of our safety, and

not

not be ſuffered to ſorrow as thoſe who had no hope. Anſwered.

11th. That the Lord would ſtand by thoſe who were drawing nigh the hour of child-birth, and give them a ſafe deliverance. Anſwered.

12th. That God would make a ſpeedy way for our eſcape, if it was not his pleaſure that we ſhould remain in a country buried in darkneſs and ſuperſtition, and that the way might be made clear. Anſwered clearly.

1ſt. By an order from the Governor to depart.

2d. By a veſſel being prepared for our convenience. And,

3d. By the ſpeedy execution of the order, in our re-embarkation. Some priſoners brought into that place before had been detained fifteen months, and then ſent to the Weſt Indies; whereas we, from the time of the arrival of the Duff till our departure, were only nine weeks and five days.

Thus our ſupplications were evidently anſwered by theſe *viſible diſplays of Divine Providence*, and all our little captive flock enjoyed this ſalvation, with the addition of the two infants whom the Lord had given us, natives of Paraguay, and we now ſet our faces once more towards the port of Rio Janeiro, where we expected that a door would be opened for our proceeding in the Miſſion, as the owner of the brig promiſed that *either he would let us have her on our arrival, or another for bills on the Society*. So that there was every reaſon to believe, that this Miſſion would not return without accompliſhing the end for which it was ſent by the Directors

Directors of the Miſſionary Society; for even though we ſhould not obtain this veſſel, our Captain and Mr. Curling, jun. had letters to a reſpectable gentleman at the port, which we thought were ſufficient to procure us a ſuitable channel of conveyance. Our Captain expected to reach this place in eight or ten days, proviſions were on board for more than double that time, and we cheriſhed the hope of having a favourable voyage.

Friday 10th. This morning we perceived that the Bonaparte had come to an anchor in the night, either becauſe there was little wind, or leſt ſhe ſhould run on the Engliſh Bank. We lay to for her, but we did not come near each other, and in the night we loſt ſight of her, and ſaw her no more. The wind was now direct againſt us, and we ſteered eaſt.

Sunday, 12th. We performed our worſhip in this ſhip as on board of the Duff. The owner, a Spaniſh paſſenger, and a mariner, who were Roman Catholics, attended, and appeared not to be diſguſted with our ſervice.

Thurſday, 23d. In fourteen days ſailing, from the time we left the River Plata, the wind had not been fair for fourteen hours. Much converſation occaſionally took place among us, as we were led to ſuppoſe that it predicted that it was not the will of God we ſhould reach that port. We were now put each upon an allowance of water, as our ſituation appeared critical. For we dared not put into Monte Video, as the Governor would have been compelled to have taken

taken us prisoners, and there was little appearance of our being able soon to reach another port, as at this season the winds in general prevail against the course that we were steering. Several of us were much indisposed, our hopes began to stagger, and we were ready to exclaim, "*All these things are against us.*"

Sunday, 26th. The wind blew a gale against us, the sea ran very high, and we were compelled to lay to with all our sails struck, till six o'clock, P. M. when it pleased the Lord to change its course in our favour, and we began to assume courage. Throughout the night and on Monday we made much progress.

Tuesday, 28th. The wind yet continued fair, though only a light breeze. We caught two sharks and four pilot-fish, some of which always attend and go before these destroying creatures. The shape of the pilot fish is nearly that of the mackarel, about ten inches long, of a beautiful colour, regularly striped from the mouth to the tail with dark blue and white, about half an inch broad. These creatures seem to manifest the utmost anxiety at the capture of the monster, and will abide by him till he is drawn up out of the water, and then follow at the side of the ship, by which means they were taken. But what appeared to me more surprising was the echeneis, or sucking-fish, one or two of which generally accompany the shark. They are a soft-finned thoracic fish, nearly wedge-like, and rather round: the head is broader than the body. The fins are behind the gills. It has an oval breast-plate, one-third of the whole length, streaked

with eighteen ſtreaks in the form of a ladder, and toothed, ſo that they will adhere ſo faſt to the ſhark as to be drawn up with him, nor even then do they quit their hold till they are knocked or pulled off. Two of theſe little creatures are now in my poſſeſſion, taken from the ſharks.

We diſcovered a curious ſhoal of fiſh, extending ſeveral yards, an object ſimilar to which none of our mariners had ever before witneſſed; and at firſt we were uncertain whether it was one creature or many together, which, however, we ſoon aſcertained by throwing overboard a bucket, when they parted.

Sunday, June 2d. We held our worſhip this day agreeably to our regular plan, but did not ſuppoſe it would be the laſt Lord's Day that we ſhould all meet together in ſo delightful an employment. Mr. Howell preached in the morning, I in the afternoon. The wind was unfavourable.

Tueſday, 4th. The wind ſhifted in our favour, and we croſſed the Line of Capricorn, with a pleaſurable proſpect, that was brightened with the hope and appearance of reaching the long-deſired port on the morrow evening, whither we had before eſſayed to go, but had been prevented by our capture, and what ſoon followed proved the truth of our Lord's obſervation, "*Ye know not what a day or an hour may bring forth.*"

Wedneſday, 5th. The wind was fine and fair for our port. Early in the morning a ſtrange ſail appeared in ſight, and from a ſurvey at the maſt-head, ſoon ſeveral others were diſcovered, till we counted thirty, which

which we perceived were steering the same course with us, and supposed they were bound to the same port. Our conjectures were awakened, but not our apprehensions of a second capture; for we supposed a friend would not interrupt us, and even scarcely an enemy in our distressed condition, especially as Capt. Carbonelle had given our Captain a letter to prove that we were a cartel of English prisoners, whom he had exchanged, &c.; thus no fears were encouraged, and we kept our course. At ten A. M. a large frigate was abreast of us, and hailed us to enquire, *What ship, from whence we came, and whither bound.* We hoisted English colours, and our Captain informed them that we came from Monte Video, were a cartel of English prisoners, and bound to Rio Janeiro. Not satisfied with this answer, we were again hailed and ordered to *send our boat alongside.* The boat was in such a bad state that our Captain assured them that *she could not swim.* This, however, was not satisfactory, and we received for answer, *Send your boat immediately or we will fire a shot.* No colours were yet hoisted by them, and we could not tell whether she was a Spaniard or Portuguese, a friend or an enemy, but we prepared to get the boat over the side, when we were a third time hailed, and told, *Never mind, we shall send to you.* Their boat was now got out, and manned with soldiers and two officers, who came to us. The officers came aboard, with a seaman who acted as interpreter, and went down into the cabin to examine

our papers, during which time we were again hailed, and the officers with us were ordered to send our Captain with the papers in the boat aboard the frigate, which now displayed the Portuguese flag. Captain Robson now entered the boat with all his papers, and the two officers remained in our vessel, who informed us, *That they left Rio Janeiro yesterday, and were bound to Europe, and that we had passed the port.* Our Captain, when he got aboard the frigate, was informed that his papers must be sent to the Commodore of the fleet, after which he was sent back to the brig, with two other officers, when the first two who came on board returned to the frigate, after hoisting her signals, sailed after the Commodore's ship, which was at a great distance, and we followed the same course.

This afternoon our minds were troubled with suspense, not knowing in what light we should be considered. We knew that the owner of this brig had purchased her not strictly according to the law of his country, as she was never condemned any more than the Duff, and he had no Spanish passport. Yet we knew that however that might be, we could not be in the least implicated in any criminality on that head, as we were compelled, in the character of prisoners, to leave the port and enter any vessel thought proper by our captors. Every hour increased our anxiety to know what would be the consequence of this second unexpected interruption at this place, but all agreed in concluding, that if even the brig should be taken

from

from us, as we were so near the port, we should undoubtedly be landed agreeably to our expectation, as it was so much needed by the greatest part of us.

When it was almost dark, the frigate and Commodore spoke to each other, when they both with the rest of the fleet lay to for us, and when we came near a boat was dispatched with other officers, soldiers and sailors, with their provision, as they were to stay all night; and our Captain now received orders that he, with all the seamen and unmarried men, must leave the brig and go on board the frigate, as the Commodore refused to give any positive decision on our papers. I now concluded that we were again captured, and soon saw the cabin in possession of strangers; when Captain Robson, three of the single Brethren, Griffith Parry, William Soddy, and James Reid, with six of our seamen, Matthew Alcorn, boatswain, Robert Andrews, William Smith, Alexander Taylor, William Greenfield, and William Pearson, went into the boat and were conveyed to the frigate, while the remainder waited its return: however it did not come, so that all remained on board this night, which we spent in a very uncomfortable state, anxiously waiting the return of day, to know in what manner we should again be disposed of.

Thursday, 6tth. This morning we perceived ourselves in the hands of strangers, and once more in the character of prisoners. We saw our Captain taken on board of the Commodore, but hoped that he would have been, with us, soon acquitted, and allowed to enter the port.

port. Yet, after waiting for some time, a boat came with more soldiers and sailors, armed with swords and pistols, with the Portuguese Captain and Lieutenant who had originally commanded her, when taken by the Buonaparte, and fellow-prisoners with us aboard that ship, but had been sent with the other prisoners on shore at Rio Janeiro, as I have already noticed, and were now returning to Europe in this fleet. This Captain, without speaking one word, took possession of the brig, and when he had got all his men and things on board, he ordered all to quit her immediately, and enter the boat, to go on board of different ships, which orders, when explained to us, were to this effect, that *the women must go on board of one ship and the men of another.* When this was communicated to us who were married, we did not see it to be our duty to consent. We knew the alliance that subsisted between England and Portugal, and therefore refused to consent to a separation, choosing rather to remain together in whatever state we might be placed, unless we were parted by force. Our declaration was acceded to, and we began to prepare for our removal; but the hasty order, with the number of strangers, had thrown our wives and us into such confusion that we were unable to obey the order so soon as the Captain wished, which this base man perceiving, told the soldiers to go below, and compel every woman at the point of the sword to enter the boat: few, however, of the men came down, and those who did paid no attention to their orders. This man's name was

Ruffeno,

Ruffeno, and I may say he was rightly named, for like a complete ruffian he behaved towards us, and I believe it would be unjust in me to give him any other appellation. Unmindful of his former situation as a prisoner, and the liberality of the French in giving him his large chest of clothes, and in a few days his liberty, he acted, though an ally to our country, diametrically opposite, and even refused the few tattered remnants of our apparel, till we declared our resolution not to go without them. A boat now conveyed several of our Brethren and Sisters to one of the ships, after which our Captain was brought on board, who informed us that the Commodore acted with excessive abruptness, had taken all his papers, and even his own private letters from him, though he would scarcely look at any of them, but informed Captain Robson that *all must go with him to Lisbon.* Our Captain pleaded our destitute state, as being in want of necessaries, and the indisposition of several of the females. To which he received for answer, that *he had plenty of Doctors, and would not suffer any to be landed, but all should go with the fleet*; and ordered five women to be brought to his ship, and five to be taken to the frigate. Mrs. Grieg, who was ill, being brought up and laid on her bed on the deck, was taken into the boat, and another part of our company left the ship. This second captivity was peculiarly trying: some of us ill, others scarcely recovered from the indisposition of Nature's sorrow, with infants so young, compelled to enter open boats on the trackless ocean,

some

ſome taken to one ſhip, ſome to another, while we were ſcarcely able to aſk each other whither we were going, or bid adieu; or if we had even made the enquiry, thoſe who were conveying us were incapable of giving us the information. What in ſuch a ſtate could have reconciled the mind to that which was ſo oppoſite to fleſh and blood, but the fulleſt conviction that *it was the Lord's will*, and that *the Judge of all the earth doth right*. How evidently did the events of this day ſpeak the mind and will of God. We had been detained by contrary winds, fully three times longer than it was expected. Twice had we arrived near the deſired port, and twice been prevented from entering it. If we had been but one day ſooner we ſhould have reached the harbour without interruption, and if but one hour later the fleet would have been out of ſight. But we were detained till the very day, yea, the very hour, at which the fleet was off this port, that we might arrive near to the very ſpot whither we had come in the Duff, with the ſame reaſonable expectations and pleaſing proſpects, and there be again captured. This appeared to us ſo replete with ſovereignty, and to ſpeak ſo clearly the mind and will of God, that we were conſtrained to ſay, "*It is the Lord's doing, and marvellous in our eyes*," and were ready to conclude that the language of Providence in this Miſſion was the ſame as to the prophet Ezekiel, "*For thou art not ſent unto a people of a ſtrange ſpeech, and of an hard language, whoſe words thou canſt not underſtand, but to the houſe of Iſrael.*" Though I do

not

not believe that the Almighty by this providence ſtamped either the Miſſionary cauſe or Miſſionaries with his diſapprobation, or that it is ſufficient to produce diſcouragement in thoſe who have the purpoſes and promiſes of a faithful God, who hath given us his aſſurance, "*In due time ye ſhall reap, if ye faint not.*"

After all the brethren, ſiſters and children, were taken out of the brig, my family and I went into a boat, and were rowed alongſide of the Commodore, when, on his ſeeing the children, and having already given orders that I ſhould be taken to the frigate, he refuſed to take us on board, which, in the end, proved another *viſible diſplay of Divine Providence*, in our behalf, though it was extremely painful to my wife and little ones, as the ſea ran high, to be rowed to a conſiderable diſtance in purſuit of the frigate, which, after ſome time, we overtook, when our ſeamen, with pleaſure, ſtood ready to conduct my wife and children up the ſhip's ſide aboard. The Portugueſe Captain and officers received us with the greateſt politeneſs and reſpect, ordered the ſeamen to get our bed, &c. on board, and conducted us into the cabin to partake of a ſplendid dinner. Here we found ſome of our Brethren and Siſters, who met us with joy, and the Captain, with his officers, treated us with ſuch extraordinary kindneſs, ſo oppoſite to the treatment which we had received on board of the brig, that we were aſtoniſhed that thoſe of the ſame nation, or even of the ſame ſpecies, could be found

poſſeſſed of principles ſo different from each other. They felt for our diſtreſs, ſympathiſed with our ſorrows, and ſacrificed their own temporal comforts to alleviate the hardſhips of our exile. Every eye was ready to watch, every hand to ſupply, all our wants, as far as their ability reached, and with peculiar alertneſs, with evident pleaſure they aſſiſted the domeſtics to help us to the beſt of the bounties of Providence that were on the table. After dinner the larboard-ſide of the ſtate-cabin, and the forepart, as far as it was neceſſary, were appropriated for our ſleeping apartments, which were immediately parted off with ſome of the ſails of the ſhip, and they declared that it would afford them pleaſure to make us as comfortable as it lay in their power. When we ſaw this uncommon attention, we concluded that our God had not yet *left us without a witneſs* of his love, and that *the hearts of all men were ſtill in his hand*. We this night took poſſeſſion of our new place of reſt. Meſſrs. Peter Leveſque, Vardy, and I, with our families, in the cabin; Meſſrs. I. Leveſque and Hawkins before us, and the ſingle Brethren before them. The ſeamen alſo were indulged with a birth parted off with canvas in midſhips, a ſituation preferable to that of their own crew. This was now the fifth ſhip on board of which I had been ſince I left my native country, the fourth to the Brethren, and the third to our females. The aſſembly that once united in worſhipping God, aboard the Duff, was now (including the diviſion of the ſea

men

men when we left Monte Video) ſeparated in ſeven directions, and with us who were taken in the brig, the diviſion ſtood thus :

On board the Amazona Portugueſe frigate of forty-ſix guns, and four hundred men, Captain Franciſco De Borja Sollama Garcao, commander. Reverend Peter Leveſque and wife ; Rev. William Gregory, wife and four children ; Rev. Joſhua Vardy and wife ; John Leveſque and wife ; Walter Hawkins, wife and daughter ; Joſeph Cooper ; Griffith Parry ; William Soddy ; John Guard ; James Reid ; Mr. Howell's ſon, William.

Seamen.—Matthew Alcorn, boatſwain ; Robert Andrews ; William Smith ; Alexander Taylor ; William Pearſon ; William Greenfield. Senor Markus, the owner of the Brig, and three Negroes.

Aboard the Meduza of ſeventy-four guns, Admiral A. Antonio Joze Catento, Commodore.

Rev. William Howell ; Rev. John Hill and wife ; Meſſrs. James Jones, wife and three children ; John Beattie, wife and child ; Robert Hughes and wife ; George Grieg and wife ; Spence Broughton ; Clark Bentom ; Thomas Fitzgibbons ; John Jerrard ; John Macdonald ; James Mitchell ; James Smith ; Joſeph Smith ; Samuel Turner ; James Hayward ; Charles Wilſon ; William Waters ; Daniel Millar ; John Youl ; David Smith, chief mate ; James Burton, ſecond mate ; John Curling, jun. ; Robert Cann, ſhip-ſteward ; James Webſter, cabin boy ; the Spaniſh paſſenger, and Spaniſh mariner.

Aboard of the Brig, De Pacquatio Poſtilliho, De Amerique; Captain Thomas Robſon; Mr. Joſeph Alliſon, gunner; John Story, ſeaman; John Greathead, boy. Mr. John Curling was afterwards ſent on board of the brig, and the boy, James Webſter, to the frigate.

This fleet being now bound to Liſbon, we each concluded that this capture had finally ſtopped this preſent Miſſion to the iſlands of the South Seas, and that through divine permiſſion we might reviſit our native ſhore. We frequently converſed together on the ſuppoſition of the many objections which probably would be raiſed by the enemies to Miſſionary efforts, againſt our attempt to convey the Goſpel to Heathen lands, and the miſerable pleaſure (forgive the expreſſion) that ſome would enjoy at the news of our capture. My limits will permit me to inſert but little of what I wrote upon this ſubject on the Southern Ocean; yet, to manifeſt the ſenſations of our minds, while under the trial, and for the encouragement of thoſe who, from the heart, are engaged in the Miſſionary cauſe, I ſhall notice the following which then penetrated my mind. Perhaps the declaration of ſome may be, *If this Counſel or Miſſion had been of God, it could not have been overthrown, and all the enemeis of God and man would have been incapable of fruſtrating it. Has any good been done by the ſecond Miſſion, or any door opened by it for the end that was deſigned, the ſpread of the Goſpel?* may be the enquiry of another. As time, and the good providence of God alone can fully

fully anſwer theſe objections, I preſume to reply to them only in part, and this I ſhall do to teſtify what mine eyes have ſeen, mine ears heard, and my hands handled, and which I conceive myſelf bound to declare.

I would firſt enquire whether ſufficient evidences can be produced from ſcripture, and the leadings of Providence with us, to prove that the Miſſion has totally failed, or that either the Miſſionary Society or Miſſionaries laboured in vain, or ſpent their ſtrength for nought. Is it a bad road becauſe difficulties and enemies are in the way? What more difficult than the Chriſtian's? I preſume that thoſe evidences remain which make it evident to every unprejudiced mind, that the Miſſion, though fruſtrated has not been anihiliated, and though human plans or deſigns have been made void, the counſel of God ſtood ſure, and even by the attempt and our captivity God hath been glorified. We acknowledged that the temporal ark, the ſhip Duff, which was devoted to the cauſe *is taken and fallen into the hands of the uncircumciſed*, and ſome may be ready, while the Philiſtines triumph, to take up the lamentation, "*the Glory is departed from Iſrael, the ark of God is taken*, Miſſionary efforts fail. Permit me to ſay, *ſtand ſtill, and ſee the ſalvation of God. He hath not dealt ſo with every nation*, people, or ſhip, as he hath dealt with us.

"Can we not witneſs bear,
"How faithful He hath been,
"And boldly to the world declare
"Salvation we have ſeen."

And

And although the enemy of the human race may have been suffered to triumph for a moment, yet even by our capture, as it was with the Israelitish ark, *Dagon* may lose *both his head and palms of his hands*, and *what has happened unto us turn out rather for the furtherance of the Gospel.* Paul was shipwrecked, but not lost, and from this dispensation of Providence, barbarians reaped peculiar advantages. And *though* Otheiteans *may not be gathered to Christ* by our instrumentality, *yet* if our aim was the glory of God, *we shall be glorious in the eyes of the Lord of Hosts. It was well that David had it in his heart to build an house for God.* But the Lord did not permit him to have the honour of performing the work. But surely this was no argument, that either the work or David's desire was displeasing in his eyes. The children of Israel with both the Lord's commission and promise of victory entered the field, yet in two engagements they fell before the enemy; yet, thus saith the Lord, "*Go up the third time, for to-morrow I will deliver them into your hand.*" A troop may overcome Gad, but Gad shall overcome at the last. Cast down we have been, but destroyed, to the praise of our covenant God, we have not been. *For having received help of God, we stand to this day.* And, while I survey the way in which the Lord hath in mercy, as well as in judgment, led us, I am constrained to declare that goodness and mercy hath followed us, and join the poet:

"Why

"Why ſhould the wonders He hath wrought
"Be loſt in ſilence, and forgot."

But ſays others, "Has good been done among thoſe to whom the providence of God conveyed you, and is not his ſending Miſſionaries back a token of his diſapprobation?" Not to mention the good effects this may have on Miſſionaries, the Miſſionary Society and Directors, with Chriſtians in general, I preſume to ſay that goſpel truth, though as a grain of muſtard-ſeed, has been ſown on the extenſive, but dark continent of South America, as alſo among the various people to whom we were conveyed, that will grow to ſuch a magnitude, that Miſſionaries may fly even from England, and ſafely lodge in its branches. Amongſt the numerous impediments in the way to the ſucceſs of the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, which have been urged by thoſe who have objected to Miſſionary efforts, and reſpecting which all have agreed, the ſuperſtition of the members of the church of Rome is one that muſt be removed, before the Goſpel can poſſibly have an univerſal ſpread. Let the preceding part of this narrative ſpeak, if ſimilar inſtances can be produced, that ever any people before ſet aſide their cuſtoms and laws to oblige others, far leſs priſoners, as theſe people have done to us, and although I would not preſume to ſay that, an effectual door has been opened for the diſſemination of Goſpel truth, yet if we have been made in no other way uſeful, we have in this, to remove the prejudices imbibed

ed by many of these men even to an astonishing degree. Many have avowed their approbation of the pure Gospel of Jesus Christ, given their sanction to our worship and order, in preference to their own, and made their declaration in our favour. Priests and people have united in one confession, and said, *You are a good priest, but I am a very bad one; others you see our religion is an appeal to the eye and external, but your's is simple, and an appeal to the heart.* The Lord conveyed us among men of different nations, who, in a feeble degree, heard in doctrine and practice the Gospel in their own tongues, and were ready to say, it was never so seen in their country or religion, and that indulgence was granted to us, which had never been vouchsafed before to any of the millions of its inhabitants. The rich and the poor have equally united with us, and we do not entertain the least doubt, but that, if a political door was once opened, the messengers of the Gospel would meet with a most pleasing reception. From which I conclude that the Mission has not wholly fallen to the ground, and though we with *Paul and Silas are forbidden by the Holy Ghost to preach the word either in Asia*, or Otaheite, or may have *essayed to go to Bithynia*, or the Southern Isles, *and the Spirit suffered us not*, yet as it was no argument with them, so I trust it is none with us, that we are not *to preach amongst the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ.*

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Particular Occurrences in the Fleet, during the Voyage to Europe.

FRIDAY 7th was the ſecond day of our captivity. The officers on board continued to behave with the ſame marked kindneſs and reſpect, and appeared to enjoy our company, inſtead of viewing us as a burden. The table was abundantly ſupplied with freſh proviſions of all ſorts, nor would either the captain or lieutenant be prevailed upon to be ſeated till every woman, child, and Miſſionary, had been placed. My children ſoon particularly claimed their attention, and we immediately beheld them in the character of nurſing fathers; they were encouraged with the ſtrongeſt aſſurance to look up to them for whatever they wanted, which was granted with the greateſt pleaſure.

Again I ſurveyed the peculiar kindneſs of the Lord towards me and mine, who had ſo diſpoſed of us, and opened the hearts of theſe men to adminiſter good and not evil in this trial. Our ſeamen alſo were treated with much lenity and kindneſs both by officers and men, for though the Portuguéſe ſoldiers and ſailors are poor diſtreſſed people, yet our mariners informed me, that *they were aſtoniſhed at their generoſity, for they would part with any thing which they poſſeſſed*

to oblige them. The officers informed us that when they left Rio Janeiro, the Duff entered the harbour, but of this we were not confident. It might have been a ſhip of the ſame appearance, though we underſtood that ſhe was bound thither, having been purchaſed by a Spaniſh merchant.

Sunday, June 9th. In conſequence of there being two Roman Catholic prieſts, to perform the duty of the ſhip, and the great number of men, who were all of the ſame perſuaſion, we were afraid that we ſhould be obliged to ſpend ſilent Sundays during the long expected voyage of four months. We held, however, our prayer meeting in our birth, in the morning, and again aſſembled between the performance by the prieſts; when we read and expounded the good word of our God, but omitted ſinging. We have felt the famine of public ordinances, and known *the word of the Lord to be precious in theſe days.* After dinner our requeſt was made known to the captain and two chief officers, that we wiſhed to be indulged with the liberty of performing our religious worſhip. Our indulgent God influenced their hearts immediately to comply with our requeſt, and the anſwer was, *It is granted, with pleaſure, and you may not only perform your worſhip, but the cabin is at your ſervice for that purpoſe,* with the additional promiſe that we ſhould meet with no interruption whatever, as the ſentinel at the door would prevent any from entering, while we were engaged in the performance of our duty. This kind offer was accepted with pleaſure and gratitude,

as

as an additional proof of the *good-will of him who dwelt in the buſh.*

We now aſſembled, ſang the praiſes of God, and preſented our ſupplications at his throne, ſitting, in a ſenſe, under our own vine, and under our own fig-tree, none making us afraid. One of the prieſts, during our worſhip, was ſecreted behind the door, to obſerve our mode; and when the ſervice was ended he came in, expreſſed his ſatisfaction, and ſaid, that *he was a bad prieſt, but we were good:* he was exceedingly friendly, and made each of our wives the preſent of a box containing ſweetmeats. The indulgence granted to us in having the cabin, was a favour which even the prieſts themſelves were not indulged in, as they had only the paſſage leading to it, where the altar was erected. I ſhall make this remark, that ſuppoſing the ſame indulgence had been given on board of an Engliſh man of war to Roman Catholics, when two Proteſtant chaplains were on board, it would have led many to have ſuppoſed that the Captain and officers favoured the cauſe of popery. Yet even this was done among thoſe who never enjoyed the bleſſing of liberty of conſcience.

Monday, 10th. The wind blew a ſtrong gale, and ſome of the fleet, though at but a little diſtance, were hidden by the mountainous billows, which, as I ſat writing this Journal at the ſtern-windows, at one minute roſe ſo high, that a ſmall part entered, and at the next, ſunk to the depth of between twenty and thirty feet, when, at intervals, as the veſſels roſe upon

the waves, they appeared plunging and loſt in the mighty ocean. On board of this frigate were three large cheſts, containing gold and diamonds to the amount of ſix millions ſterling. Two of theſe we had in our birth, by one of which my wife and I lay on the deck, and on which I had placed our box of clothes, which by the rolling of the ſhip in the night, fell on Mrs. Gregory and young Ebenezer, who received, however, no injury.

Wedneſday, 12th, was a fine day, and the boat was ſent to the Commodore, when the officers offered to convey any letters we choſe to our friends. We wrote, and received anſwers, by the return of the boat, which were very diſtreſſing to us. The Commodore treated them with contempt and cruelty, ſaid that they were either convicts, pirates, or ſome ſuch baſe characters, and put all, men, women and children, on the miſerable allowance of the meaneſt ſoldier; added to which, they had every diſadvantage in point of lodging, as ſome ſlept in the long-boat, and others where they could. From the information received I extract the following:

"When I was conveyed on board of the Meduza," ſays Mr. Jones, "about ſix hours after my family, as "I ſtopped to obtain my bedding, I found Mrs. Jones "and the children ſitting on the deck, to whom the "Commodore had not paid the ſmalleſt attention. "They had been forced to leave the brig without any "breakfaſt, and it was not until half paſt four in the "afternoon that we were all divided into meſſes, and

"ſerved

" ſerved with black beans and ſome putrid beef, which
" we could not eat, and which was brought us in a
" tub, without any bread, but as a ſubſtitute for it, a
" beaten root like ſaw-duſt, and no allowance of wa-
" ter, which, we were informed, would not be given
" till to-morrow. In this wretched ſituation, being
" parched with the heat of the ſun and extreme thirſt,
" I made application for relief, but to no effect, as the
" Commodore would grant no other ſupply, nor even
" any allowance of this for the children. With a pain-
" ful anxiety, at ſeven o'clock, I retired below to put
" the children to reſt, when we ſaw the place appoint-
" ed for our five women and four children. This was
" in the midſt of the Portugueſe ſailors, a ſpace
" which two mattreſſes covered, and entirely ſcreened
" only by a piece of canvas. As it was dark, I re-
" queſted a light, but was denied. When our wives
" and little ones entered this wretched apartment,
" while we placed ourſelves round them on the out-
" ſide, to protect them among a people who were bru-
" tal in the extreme, where we ſpent a very uncom-
" fortable night. In the morning we were told to
" fetch our allowance of water, which was acceptable
" news to the parched, thirſty women, who, from the
" time they came on board received no refreſhment.
" On dividing the water, we found that only a wine
" pint and a half was allowed to each, and none to
" either of the children, and that this was our portion
" for twenty-four hours. On the morrow I again peti-

" tioned

" tioned for a larger ſupply of water, with ſome for " the children, when we obtained an allowance of a " quart each, with a pint for each child, notwith- " ſtanding which, unleſs our God had fulfilled his " promiſe, and kept us alive in the midſt of famine, " in this ſituation, nearly under the ſun, it would have " been impoſſible, humanly ſpeaking, for us to have " ſurvived."

All the letters conveyed information of the ſame unpleaſant nature. Mr. Howell, in anſwer to a letter from me, declared " that the information of their " bad treatment was too true, and that if he was ſup- " ported in ſuch a ſtate, the preſervation of his health " would afford great cauſe for thankfulneſs "

The Commodore ſent inſtructions to the Captain of the ſhip which I was aboard, and ſpoke of diſtributing the Engliſh among the merchant ſhips in the fleet; but the Captain and firſt officers informed us, that whatever was the conduct of the Commodore to our friends, they never would conſent to part with any of us who were married, or our children, though they could not ſay but they might be compelled to ſend our ſingle Brethren to ſome other ſhip. My children having loſt their ſhoes, it was perceived by theſe officers, who ſent for the ſhoemaker on board, and gave orders to make new ſhoes for all immediately, which was accordingly done. Thus what they were deprived of by one was given by another, and goodneſs and mercy yet followed us.

After

After dinner, obſerving us much dejected at the letters which we had received, and knowing the uncomfortable ſituation of our other Brethren and Siſters, they each taking a glaſs of wine, requeſted us to do the ſame, and addreſſed us in the following terms: "*To your unhappy friends in the other ſhip, that they may be preſerved in whatever ſtate they are kept.*" We were forcibly ſtruck with the feeling and ſympathy of theſe ſtrangers; and contraſting their conduct with that of the others, we recogniſed the truth, that the hearts of all men are in the hand of our God, who hardeneth one and melteth another.

The boat going to the brig, I wrote to Captain Robſon, to inform him of our ſituation and obtain a knowledge of his, when I received the following anſwer:

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I have this moment received your's and others "from the Amazona, the contents of which have af- "forded much ſatisfaction to my ſoul; I heartily bleſs "God, in the behalf of you all. May he make us "truly thankful. This *viſibly* is his own appoint- "ment, and he will aſſuredly perfect that which con- "cerns us therein. May we all have evidences from "time to time, that we are reconciled to himſelf on "his own terms, which will have a mighty tendency "to reconcile all the intricate windings of his provi- "dence to ourſelves. My love to all. I write in "great haſte. I am well, and beg leave to preſent

"my

" my beſt wiſhes to all. I ſhall, on ſome future occa-
" ſion, thank your good Captain for his civilities.

" Your's truly,

" THOMAS ROBSON."

" *Poſtillibio*, 12*th June*, 1799.

Friday, 14th. One of the ſhips in this fleet was the property of a French lady, who was in her, and who, on perceiving as we paſſed that females and children were on board, came this day to ſee them, and brought with her a preſent of ſome ſweetmeats, excellent oranges, ſweet bread for the children, and artificial flowers, accompanied with the tender of future ſervices and any thing at her command. She remained with us this day and the ſix following. To alleviate the ſituation of our Brethren and Siſters in the fleet, we procured ſome ſpirits and ſundry other articles from the ſeamen, as far as it was in our power, and ſent them at different times, which proved highly acceptable in ſuch a ſtate.

Sunday, 16th. The ſame indulgence was given in our religious worſhip, and the kindneſs of the officers not only continued but increaſed. For ſuch inſtances of temporal mercies how much are we bound to be thankful! How *viſibly was the mercy of Providence diſplayed*, in preventing my family and me, though we were taken alongſide of the other ſhip, from entering it! This favour we enjoyed with pleaſure, which, however, was often marred by reflecting on the ſituation of our friends.

Wedneſday,

Wednesday, 19th. The weather was calm, when, as usual, we saw sharks, two of which were caught and eaten by the sailors. We saw also three large whales, one of which was at least fifty or sixty feet long. I was pleased with the idea of Dr. Watts:

"The largest monsters of the deep,
"At thy command attendance keep."

Monday, 24th. This day we were in the same latitude with Otaheite. My mind was penetrated with the idea of the painful anxiety which our situation would cause the Brethren there, if they knew that we, who expected to unite with them, were now returning

Thursday, 27th. Early this morning, the appearance of a strange sail was reported, a circumstance which in general claimed all attention. At eleven, A. M. the Captain put about, left the fleet to give chase, and in one hour gained much upon her, when supposing she was a large ship, and expecting to be within gun-shot in little more than an hour, he ordered the decks to be cleared and the guns got ready for action. Bulk-heads were now taken down, our beds and boxes removed, and the deck cleared from stem to stern, while every scene around us bore the aspect of war. Some of the females were rather alarmed, dreading the roaring of the guns, which were not very agreeable when only fired as signals, and the idea of the consequences of an engagement naturally made a deep impression. The removal of our beds, &c. reminded me of that scripture, "*Here we have no con-*

tinuing city." About three P. M. we fired the firſt ſhot, which did not reach her, and ſhe refuſed to ſtrike. The chaſe continued all the afternoon, when after firing eighteen ſhots, ſhe ſtruck and lay to. After ſhe was hailed ſhe anſwered in Engliſh, and we entered a hope of hearing from our native country, which we had not done from the time we left it. But when ſhe was boarded ſhe proved to be a French ſhip, come from Cayenne and bound to Rio de la Plata, on board of which was a Spaniſh Captain, who when brought to the Amazona with the owner, endeavoured to prove her Spaniſh property, which, however, they were unable to do. The priſoners were now brought on board, two of whom were put into the ſtocks for anſwering in Engliſh, ſaying they came from London, and in the morning were conveyed to the Commodore, while the ſhip was ſent to St. Salvador, and in her the Spaniſh paſſenger and ſailor who were captured with us in the brig. Mr. P. Leveſque was permitted to go in the boat to the Meduza, carrying a letter of Captain Robſon to the Commodore, which had been tranſlated into Portugueſe on board of this ſhip for Mr. Howell to deliver, the purport of which was to undeceive him reſpecting the unjuſt reproach of character caſt on the Brethren, and intreat that they might receive better treatment. Our Brother witneſſed the ſituation of the females and Brethren. and gave us farther intelligence that they were ſerved only once a day with diſagreeable proviſion, a very ſcanty allowance of water, no ſpirits, while they had

had miſerable lodgings; that they had purchaſed ſome few articles at a dear rate, from ſome of the ſailors, who afterwards robbed them of the ſame in the night. We could not but be aſtoniſhed at witneſſing the conduct of thoſe on board of our ſhip, who, however poor and wretched, would ſacrifice any thing for our ſervice.

Saturday, 29th. In conſequence of the Brethren's having extended the birth of the females in the Meduza, for the admiſſion of air, the Commodore behaved in the moſt abominable manner, and ſent all the married Brethren and Siſters, with Dr. Turner and the children, on board of the brig, for which they were truly thankful. Siſter Hughes now grew very ill, and the proviſions, with the want of water, daily added to her complaint.

Wedneſday, July 3d. This morning we ſaw the coaſt of South America. At noon we were abreaſt of the city of Pernumboco, between the 8th and 9th degrees of South latitude, which belongs to the Crown of Portugal, and where this fleet deſigned to call, to convoy any ſhip that might belong to Europe, and where we hoped to obtain a ſupply of oranges, as our ſtock was now expended, and the officers wiſhed much to provide for our table. But two ſhips which were waiting came out and met us, ſo that the fleet proceeded without ſtopping, nor was any boat ſuffered to go on ſhore.

This town and country are beautifully ſituated and have a reſpectable appearance. The town is large,

has a number of churches and other public edifices, and the houſes are built high. It aſcends from the ſhore, at the borders of which is a fort. There were ſeveral ſhips before the town riding at anchor, and the whole fronts to the eaſt the Southern Ocean. About three miles towards the north, lies the old town of Olinda, with a few houſes on a hill, pleaſantly ſituated; and on the oppoſite ſide from the town are two high hills, from which the Portugueſe procure large quantities of gold. The whole country appeared pleaſant and fruitful, and we were concerned that our taſte was not gratified as well as our ſight.

Friday, 5th. The wind was ſtrong and fair, and our ſhip went at the rate of two degrees twenty minutes, without any fail ſet.

Sunday, 7th. We continued to enjoy the ordinances of God on board of this ſhip, and this day we partook of the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper. At eleven, A. M. we croſſed, for the ſecond time, the Equinoctial Line, with a fine breeze. At twelve, from obſervation, we were five miles in the northern hemiſphere.

Tueſday, 9th. At ten, A. M. my eyes were called to witneſs a ſcene which filled me with diſtreſs. I went to look out at the gallery window, when I beheld a lad, who had fallen overboard, and was now, at a little diſtance, ſtruggling for life. His head, as he ſtood upright, was covered with the waves, his arms extended, and he roſe and fell with the ſwell of the ſea, while every moment predicted his quickly

ſinking

ſinking in the boſom of the fathomleſs abyſs. I beheld his ſtruggles, without being able to give him the leaſt aſſiſtance, and was compelled to withdraw from the diſtreſſing ſight. The ſhip's ſails were all backed, two tubs and a rope were thrown overboard, but did not reach him, and in a few moments we ſaw him no more. The wind did not blow hard, or the ſea run high, and he had floated the length of the ſhip before I ſaw him; if the boat had been got off there was a probability that he would have been ſaved. "*The redemption of the ſoul is precious*," but, alas! few appear to know its value.

Wedneſday, 10th. As what took place on board of the ſhip may appear ſtrange to many, as it did to me, I briefly mention the following circumſtances. Laſt night a man died, and early this morning they proceeded to inter him. The corpſe being ſewed up in a hammock was brought upon deck, preceded by a prieſt with his maſs book, a man with holy water and a crucifix, and another carrying two lanthorns with lights. When it was brought to the lee-gangway and laid on a board, two large ſhots were tied between the legs for the purpoſe of ſinking it, and one lanthorn being placed at the head and the other at the feet, the man with the crucifix and water being near, the prieſt performed the funeral ſervice, at intervals ſprinkling the body with the water, from a bruſh made in the form of a croſs, which he firſt did one way, and then the other, to reſemble the ſame. This ceremony being ended, they proceeded to launch

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the body into the deep, but not till ſeveral of the ſeamen had expended the remainder of the water, in following the example of the prieſt, when it was committed to the ocean, and a boy ſtood ready to run immediately round the ſhip, making a loud noiſe, and calling on all aboard to pray for the ſoul of the deceaſed, in compliance with which requeſt each croſſed themſelves, and ſaid their prayers.

To-day the Captain kindly clothed my boy John, whom he had put into breeches, with the intention that he might croſs the Equinoctial Line in them, but they were not made ſoon enough by the taylor.

Friday, 12th. This morning, in conſequence of exceſſive rain, we loſt ſight of the fleet, nor could we perceive a ſingle ſhip: the method employed to regain them was the firing of guns at intervals, which anſwered the end, and before night we ſaw them again, and in the morning caught the regular N. E. trade. wind.

Friday, 19th. Early this morning another ſtrange ſail appeared in ſight, but ſhe ſaved us the trouble of a long chace, as ſhe bore down to the Commodore, and proved to be the Spaniſh packet, which arrived at Monte Video, while we were there. The Commodore took her under his convoy.

Tueſday, 30th. The wind blew ſtrong and fair, for which, as for many bleſſings we have much reaſon to be thankful. This day, within a minute of noon, the ſun was exactly vertical, when I enjoyed much pleaſure in contemplation, as I ſaw by my quadrant,

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the ſun ninety degrees from the horizon in every direction, and as we ſtood upright upon the deck our ſhadows were nearly covered with our feet. The ſun being in its zenith, and ſhining exceſſively bright, eclipſed and diminiſhed to a very ſmall ſpot the image of the man, whoſe ſhadow was ſcarcely diſcernible, while the eye, by the quadrant, could convey or ſweep the ſun, yet in its *vertex* all round the horizon. In ſurveying this wonderful work of creation I was ready to ſay with the Royal Pſalmiſt, "*What is man, that thou art mindful of him, and the ſon of man, that thou viſiteſt him.*" And my reflection on this view led me to ſuppoſe, that thus it was with a ſinner under the beams of Jeſus, the Sun of Righteouſneſs, and that when he in the meridian of his glory ſhines on man, the ſoul being under his directeſt rays, and feeling his power, even the appearance or ſhadow of the perfections of mortals is ſo defaced, and brought to nothing, that only a ſmall, but ſinful lump of clay, is diſcernible.

From obſervation, 18° 36′ N. 39° W.

Friday, Auguſt 2d. Though there was little wind, yet ſuch was the ſwell of the ſea, that a ſhip in the fleet rolled her fore-top-maſt over the ſide. A ſimilar accident took place before, by which ſome of the crew were killed.

Sunday 4th. Captain Garcas having engaged to dine with the Commodore, on board the Meduza, kindly tendered me the liberty of accompanying him. We were now very anxious about the welfare

of

of our Brethren, as we had not heard from any these five weeks. I therefore gladly accepted the offer that I might have an opportunity of knowing their situation, and spending this Lord's-day with them. At eight A. M. I accordingly went with the Captain, and was received with pleasure by the Brethren, when Mr. Howell exchanged, and went to see the Brethren abroad the Amazona. At ten, we united in public worship, in their birth, which was the long boat, in the midst of the ship, where on the altar, Christ Jesus, we offered up a sacrifice of prayer and praise together, after a separation of two months. And I preached from Exodus xxv. 22. "*And we found it good to wait upon God.*" After the service I obtained permission through the influence of Captain Garcas to see Mrs. Hill and Greig, as Mrs. Greig had come from the brig again on board of this ship, and was delivered of a daughter on Thursday last, when alone, after which Mrs. Hill was sent for and came to her assistance, The child was named by Mrs. Howell on Saturday, and at six P. M. on the same day, she died, and a little before eight was committed to the deep.

Some reflections that may prove acceptable to the female reader, sent to me in a letter afterwards by Mrs. Hill, I can scarcely omit noticing on this occasion, out of my respect to my female correspondent.

"I was thinking," says she, "this day, that little "infants might be compared to a sweet warbling "bird upon the tree, which, while we are admiring

"its

" its note and innocence, often takes wings and flies " away. Thus it was with the little ſtranger whom I " lately had in my arms, and for two nights had the " pleaſure of huſhing her gentle murmurs. I had " prepared for her a fine cap and gown, thinking your " kind Captain would ſee her on the morrow, but " before ſun-ſet her eyes were cloſed in death, and in- " ſtead of a gown and cap ſhe had a piece of canvas " and a bag of ſand. I had dreſſed her three times, " but the fourth I reſigned to Mrs. Smith. I truſt " the Lord will teach us all a very important leſſon " to prize his mercies while we enjoy them, and when " he takes them away to ſay, in humble ſubmiſſion " to his will, *The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken* " *away, bleſſed be the name of the Lord.*"

I found the Brethren, in general, enjoying a good ſtate of health; conſidering their ſituation they had now a larger allowance of water, than which, (in our opinion, who know its value in theſe hot climes) a greater temporal bleſſing cannot be beſtowed. They enjoyed all the means of public worſhip in their boat, as we had done on board of the Duff, with the addition of ſpeaking from a portion of ſcripture in rotation every day, a privilege which we alſo enjoyed on board of the Amazona, and they appeared to poſſeſs much of the preſence of God among them.

Brother Wilſon had been ill, but was now recovered. Mr. Howell was admitted to the fare of the Commodore's table; Mr. Smith dined daily with one of the

officers, and of conſequence fared better in a temporal reſpect.

The boat went to fetch the Portugueſe Captain of the brig on board, to dine on this viſit, when we received letters from Captain Robſon and Dr. Turner, the contents of which were, that they were anxious about our welfare; that the Brethren had been favoured with the ſame allowance of ſpirits as the ſeamen, which, however, being exhauſted, and the Commodore underſtanding that a part had been given to the Engliſh, refuſed to ſend any more, even for the ſhip's company, and that Mrs. Hughes yet continued ill. Theſe letters were read with concern. The Brethren in the Meduza were not able to afford the ſmalleſt relief; we, in the Amazona, had uſed our endeavours, and ſucceeded in obtaining ſome extra ſupplies, beſides a few little articles which we had before in our poſſeſſion, and had willingly ſent. Theſe, in a ſmall degree, mitigated the hardſhips of their ſtate, and tended to preſerve health, but now every article on board was nearly expended, and my kind little Captain earneſtly wiſhed to prevail on the Commodore to call at Fyall, one of the weſtern iſlands, to procure ſome ſupplies. This humane man, under whom the kind providence of God had placed me and mine, with others of the Brethren, had, from the hour we firſt came on board, manifeſted one continual act of kindneſs. He then ſaid, *he was concerned that he had not laid in a greater ſtock of freſh proviſion, which he would*

would have done if he had known, but that we ſhould never want while he had to give, that he with us would fare alike, and when we wanted bread he would. Every day evinced the ſincerity of this declaration: he had only provided for himſelf, the two firſt officers, and two midſhipmen, when the day before he ſailed he unexpectedly received three American gentlemen as paſſengers, ſo that, with us, inſtead of five to provide for, he had, including all the children, twenty-nine, daily at his table. Yet by his continual anxiety and exertion in procuring from other officers and ſhips an addition to his own ſtock, he abundantly ſupplied us every day with freſh proviſions, beef, pork, mutton, and poultry, with hot rolls and butter for breakfaſt, which was the only bread that he would permit us to eat until all the flour was conſumed. Surely the appellation of a father to him is not improperly applied, as his whole conduct moſt deſervedly entitles him to it. He was happy when at dinner to have my children, the one on the one knee and the other on the other; and if any of us were indiſpoſed, he, with that of the two firſt officers' anxiety and kind attention, were almoſt without a parallel. He compelled me even by forcing me into the cabin, to dine with the Commodore, to which I was conſtrained to ſubmit, to promote his comfort; and when at dinner the Commodore reprobated the Brethren in his ſhip, he turned to me, aſſuring me of his reſpect and affection to my friends on board the Amazona, and when conducted along the deck with military honours to return to his ſhip,

he broke the line to ſalute the Brethren, whom he had beheld in converſation with me.

I hope that my friends, whom I endeavour to gratify, will bear with me a little in my noticing theſe ſimple circumſtances, as gratitude induces me to proclaim the kindneſs of ſtrangers, when ſuch are contraſted with men of the ſame nation, religion, and habits, as it *diſplays* the kind interpoſition of an overruling Providence. The ingratitude of *Pharaoh's Chief Butler to Joſeph* is noticed in ſcripture. The kindneſs of an Ethiopian to Jeremiah is recorded. The ravens who ſupplied the wants of Elijah are not forgotten, and even dogs, which licked the ſores of one of his afflicted children, claimed the attention of the Son of God,

"Who ravens and lions can tame;
All creatures obey his command:
Then let me rejoice in his name,
And leave all my cares in his hand."

In the afternoon the Captain and I returned on board of the Amazona, and Mr. Howell returned to his ſhip. The correſpondence and interview with the Brethren were always to me productive of peculiar pleaſure.

Tueſday, 6th. Yeſterday afternoon we held the Miſſionary prayer meeting aboard the different ſhips in which we were ſcattered, as we could not forget to unite with our friends in our native country, however dark Miſſionary proſpects were to us. At midnight we croſſed the Tropical Line of Cancer, and entered the

the Northern Temperate Zone. 116 days, moſt of us have ſpent within the Torrid Zone ſince we left our native country, and the greateſt part of theſe in unpleaſant and diſtreſſing circumſtances, yet ſtill experiencing wonderful preſervation.

On Wedneſday the boat being ſent to the brig, Brother Leveſque went with a few articles which he had procured for our Brethren and Siſters, when we obtained the information that Mrs. Hughes was ſtill indiſpoſed, and Mr. Curling had been very much ſo, but was now a great deal better.

Thurſday, 8th. Our ſtock of flour, cheeſe, and wine, being within one day's allowance expended, the kind providence of God unexpectedly ſupplied us a little longer. In the evening a boat came alongſide from one of the ſhips in the fleet, with the preſent of a ſack of flour, ſome poultry and hogs, to help to ſupply our table. We alſo received a bottle of wine from the French lady for our females, accompanied with her compliments, and a requeſt that they would drink her health. She alſo ſent ſome ſweet-bread for the children.

Sunday, 11th. There was little wind, while the weather was hot and ſultry. We performed our worſhip as uſual. This day we alſo commemorated the death of our dying Lord, and enjoyed a moſt comfortable opportunity, many of which we have had on board of this ſhip.

Monday, 12th. The weather was calm. Early in the morning to the weſt we ſaw a water-ſpout, under a black

a black cloud, which deſcended to the ſea, and drew up water into the cloud, when, cloſing at the bottom, it gradually aſcended and diſappeared.

From obſervation, Lat. 28° 52′ N. Long. 41° W.

In an extract from Brother Hill's Journal he informs me, that "on board of the ſeventy-four, in "conſequence of the calm, a man was ſent round the "ſhip to collect money to pay the prieſt, who offered, "if paid, to pray for a fair wind, which was ac-"cordingly done. How inſulting to the common "underſtanding of man, as well as diſhonourable to "God!"

Tueſday, 13th. The calm ſtill continued. We felt the ſun very penetrating. Our concern for the welfare of our Brethren was heightened, as they were upon an allowance of water. The poor men on board of this ſhip appeared like parched earth panting for the rain, being allowed but little, and their proviſions at the ſame time dry and ſalt. A cup of cold water now appeared of infinite value: knowing the want of this bleſſing before I truſt that we were thankful, becauſe we were not ſuffered now to want, *as our bread is given us, and our water ſure.* Captain Garcao told me not to want, and even though it was night to come into his cabin, not minding him, and get whatever I or mine required.

Two poor negroes belonging to this ſhip were placed with their heads in the ſtocks, in much ſweat and pain. The extraordinary attention paid us by the Captain and officers had induced the ſhip's company to

to look upon us as the moſt effectual means to procure an exemption from any puniſhment inflicted, ſeveral having been already liberated through this medium. As I paſſed theſe negroes, one with tears pleaded hard with me to intereſt myſelf in his behalf with the Captain, as the only means by which he could poſſibly be delivered: when being informed that their crime was ſtealing ſalt beef, I was perſuaded that hunger only in their ſituation, where it was impoſſible for them to obtain water to quench their thirſt, could have been the cauſe of this act, I promiſed them my ſervices, and went immediately on the quarter-deck for that purpoſe; when, on my addreſſing the Captain, he would ſuffer me to go no farther than begin my requeſt; before he ſaid, that it was always his pleaſure to gratify my wiſhes, and called to a ſerjeant to liberate the men directly. This day the Meduza paſſed us, ſo nigh that we ſaw ſome of our Brethren and Siſters, which always gave us pleaſure, and we generally ſaluted each other by waving an handkerchief or hat. With longing deſires for a happy meeting I reflected on the pleaſing idea of uniting together at the end of this voyage, and at the end of time, in ſimilar language to that of the poet,

"Eternal glory to the King,
Who brought us ſafely through;
Our tongues ſhall never ceaſe to ſing,
And endleſs praiſe renew."

Thurſday, 15th. Being what is called the annunciation of the Virgin Mary, maſs, as it is uſual on All-Saints'

Saints' Day, was twice performed. We were often affected at the ſight of this, and ſhould have been happy if we had beheld them proſtrate before the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, pleading for mercy through his blood, inſtead of the image of the Virgin Mary, to which they pay far greater reſpect than that of Jeſus. It was ſtill calm and ſultry-hot: ſome rain fell in the morning, accompanied with thunder and lightning. We ſaw a ſhark, which was exceedingly large, following the ſhip, but he was not caught.

Friday, 16th. This day preſented the completeſt calm I have witneſſed: both elements ſeemed to unite in a ſolemn ſilence; there was ſcarcely a cloud or a ſingle ſurf; the ſky was clear, and the ocean ſmooth, its continual motion excepted, while the vane, which was only compoſed of a few feathers and thread, could ſcarcely be perceived to move, and every ſhip in the fleet ſeemed to be ſtanding, as if bound to every quarter of the globe, without being, in the leaſt, under the controul of its commander.

Sunday, 18th. Between the regular ſervice of the maſs we performed our worſhip, and truſt that over our altar cannot be written, *To the unknown God, whom we ignorantly worſhip*, becauſe we found our God to *be a God, hearing and anſwering prayer*. It was yet calm and burning hot, which was very diſtreſſing to the ſick on board, ſeveral of whom had the fever very bad, and were deſtitute of many temporal bleſſings, which were requiſite in ſuch a ſituation. At ten, A. M. yeſterday, one died of this diſorder, and was interred

interred in the deep at half paſt twelve, with the cuſtomary formalities. Some fears were entertained that the fever would ſpread, and, as a preventative, our births and cabins were frequently fumigated with gunpowder.

Tueſday, 20th. It was yet calm, and we began to be much concerned at our ſituation, at times ſuppoſing that the delay of the fleet portended ſome unforeſeen providence. We recollected our delay in the Duff, off Cape St. Roque, which if it had not taken place, we ſhould have arrived at Rio Janeiro before the Buonaparte was off that coaſt, as ſhe had only been there four days before our capture. The delay in the brig alſo recurred to our memory, and in both we evidently ſaw the hand of God, and, from a review of the way in which we had been led, we believed, that we were not able to know the mind and will of the Lord concerning us, or whither we ſhould yet be conveyed, but we hoped to be enabled to reſign ourſelves to his ſovereign pleaſure.

At our worſhip this evening, we were impreſſed with a ſenſe of our duty and privilege to unite together and plead, that, if it was agreeable to our Lord, he would ſend us a favourable breeze, and we agreed to hold a prayer meeting at ſix o'clock next morning, for that purpoſe. Our generous Captain appeared to be much dejected, on account of being becalmed ſo long, and the ſcanty ſupply of proviſions on board: the poor ſeamen were put on a ſhort allowance of water, which was little better than a pint in twenty-four hours, as the officers were afraid that their ſtock would

ſoon be totally exhauſted. It was truly affecting to ſee theſe poor creatures, when heaven ſupplied them with a ſhower, running to drink the water from the deck and gunwale, when no other relief was at hand.

Wedneſday, 21ſt. We were awakened about three o'clock this morning by the noiſe which the ſeamen made, in ſtriking all ſail, and ſhutting in ports and cabin-windows, at the approach of a ſquall of wind and rain, which came on with great violence, attended with tremendous peals of thunder, and grand, but awful flaſhes of vivid lightning, the moſt penetrating that we had ever beheld: it did not, however, continue above forty minutes, yet the fleet was driven ſome miles towards our port, when all returned to a calm as before. We held our prayer-meeting according to agreement, and hoped that even the ſquall was not only an evidence of what our God could perform, but a token for good, an anſwer by anticipation to our intended ſupplications, agreeably to his own word, "*Before ye call, I will anſwer, and while yet pleading, I will hear.*"

At nine, A. M. the Lord ſeemed about to ſend us a favourable breeze, which began, and increaſed every hour, till we made rapid progreſs. I was aſtoniſhed at the alteration which took place in the heavens, but could ſcarcely receive this bleſſing as an anſwer to our imperfect ſupplications, till this portion of ſcripture powerfully ſtruck my mind, "*Elias was a man ſubject to like paſſions as we are, and he prayed earneſtly that it might not rain, and it rained not on the earth for the ſpace*

ſpace of three years and ſix months: and he prayed again, and the heavens gave rain, and the earth brought forth her fruit." I here ſaw that our God anſwered the prayers of ſuch as were of like paſſions as ourſelves, and repeated his anſwer, when again Elias prayed: the truth of this we have in a peculiar manner experienced ſince the time of our capture.

Thurſday, 22d. The wind was ſtrong and fair, and we believed that we had abundant reaſons for praiſe. Every countenance in the ſhip was expreſſive of pleaſure, and we were ready to join the Royal Pſalmiſt, "*O that men would therefore praiſe the Lord for his goodneſs, and declare his wonders which he doth for the children of men.*"

Saturday, 24th. I may probably be tireſome in noticing Saints' Days and the ſervice of the maſs. Yet as ſome circumſtances in particular made impreſſions on my mind, and may afford information, I cannot omit them. The performance of maſs upon ſuch a principle as their own creed declares, muſt claim attention from every ſpiritual and enlightened mind, who reads the following quotation from their article of faith on this ſubject, which may here be inſerted:

"I do alſo profeſs, that in the maſs there is offered "unto God a true propitiatory ſacrifice for the quick "and the dead, and that in the moſt holy ſacrament "of the Euchariſt, there is truly, and really, and ſub-"ſtantially the body and blood, together with the "ſoul and divinity of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; and "that there is a converſion made of the whole ſub-

" ſtance of the bread into the body, and the whole " ſubſtance of the wine into the blood, which con- " verſion the Catholic Church calls Tranſubſtantiation. " I confeſs that under one kind only, whole and en- " tire Chriſt, and a true ſacrament is taken and re- " ceived."

I need not offer my ſentiments on this awful confeſſion to the leaſt babe in the kingdom of Chriſt; for the ſoul that values the great ſacrifice offered unto God upon Mount Calvary, and knows that *the blood of Jeſus ſpeaks better things than the blood of Abel*, will be ſatisfied with what God hath declared he is well pleaſed, and ſhudder at the idea of ſuch an abomination, that even after God hath declared, *that ſacrifices and burnt offerings*, even of his own appointment, *he hath no pleaſure in*, a deluded prieſt ſhould dare to affront the Majeſty of Heaven, by preſenting the inventions of men, and declare that the all-ſufficient atonement of Chriſt is inſufficient without his.

Being now compelled to be eye and ear-witneſs of what I aſſert, I am under the neceſſity of leaving on record the diſapprobation which I felt on theſe occaſions. This day a ſcene of a ſingular nature preſented itſelf to the view. It was St. Bartholomew's Day, when, as uſual, maſs was ſaid twice, after which the following circumſtances occurred:

An officer on board of this ſhip lay ſick below, and was ſuppoſed to be near his diſſolution, when, although the poor, according to their practical doctrine, do not need extreme unction, as it was not performed

formed on either of the men who died before, yet the rich do, and to give it additional efficacy, it was done on this Saint's Day, that his aid might be given on the occaſion, and the ſick man gave a new fore-ſail for the frigate, to be dedicated to St. Bartholomew for his recovery. At eleven, A. M. the ſervice began; the altar was fixed as before, but from it to the hatchway, and leading all the way to the officer's birth, it was incloſed with flags, to form a paſſage: to the ceiling were fixed the Portugueſe colours, and the deck was ſcraped clean to make the way perfect; the ſhip-colours were hoiſted half-maſt high, an uſual ſignal for mourning, and the bell toiled as for interment: the ſenior prieſt at the altar now proceeded to tranſubſtantiate, firſt the wafer, and then the wine, which he preſumed to do, by holding it up towards the image with his reflective plate, which he held in the palm of his hand, and twiſting it about before the lights, which were burning on each ſide of the altar, it cauſed his face to ſhine with the reflection, that flew about like the Will of the Wiſp, (which we frequently ſaw in Paraguay), and the credulous people appeared to believe, that the divine preſence was there, to convert the wafer and wine into *the body, blood, and divinity of Jeſus Chriſt*, as immediately all fell on their knees, croſſed themſelves, beat their breaſts, with other preſcribed motions. He now took it himſelf only in both parts, for even the junior prieſt was not allowed to participate, and when he received the wafer, which is three inches broad, after doubling, he ſwallowed, without biting

biting it, as they ſay a bone of him is not to be broken, and they hold it to be improper to deface it with their teeth. The wine being in one veſſel, while another of the ſame ſize ſtood by, containing water, when he had drunk the wine the cup was rinſed with the water which was afterwards drunk, and left any ſhould remain, or be appropriated to another uſe, he again rinſed it and drank, when he wiped the veſſel dry with a purificatory or linen cloth, with which he wipes his chalice and his fingers after abſolution. He now went in proceſſion to adminiſter the ordinance to the ſick man, when the wafer was placed on the plate, and covered with a cloth. Firſt, ſome officers went together, next the Captain and three others, each with a large wax candle burning in their hands, then the junior prieſt, and the ſenior, who was the adminiſtrator, followed him, and proceeded down the hatchway to the officer's cabin, while all around on the deck falling on their knees, remained in that poſture till their return to the altar, when this ſolemn ſervice was concluded.

No ſooner was all cleared away, than quite a different ſcene was exhibited. A ſtrange ſail was deſcried, the ſignal hoiſted, and our Captain received orders from the Commodore to give her chaſe; immediately all ſail was ſet, the drums beat to quarters, the prow-guns were loaded, and the inſtruments of war diſplayed: our Captain expected to come up with her before it was dark, but when we were within an hour's ſail of overtaking her, the ſignal was hoiſted

by

by the Commodore to give up the chaſe, which was reluctantly obeyed, both by the Captain officers, and men, who all appeared to be much vexed; and though they afterwards received another order, yet again it was countermanded, and they were required to bear down and cover the fleet.

Sunday, 25th. We bore down to the Meduza, and our Captain went aboard, by whom we ſent ſome letters to the Brethren, and in return received ſeveral epiſtles of love. We performed our worſhip as uſual, and with pleaſure waited on the Lord. The Captain of a ſhip in the fleet ſent us this day a very unexpected preſent after ſo long a voyage, a live cow, to help to ſupply our table with freſh meat, with which, through the peculiar favour of Providence, we had been indulged every day.

Among the letters which I this day received I inſert the following, and am concerned that my limits will not permit me to notice ſeveral others, which have given much ſatisfaction to my friends: though the reſpect that I owe my Brethren compels me to own, that they were never deſigned for the preſs.

"DEAR BROTHER, "*Meduza, Auguſt 25th*, 1799.

"YOUR kind favour induces me to drop you a few lines, "and I cannot but lament the limits of my ſubject-matter, yet "rightly conſidered, it is a ſubject as extenſive as eternity itſelf, "namely, the love of Jeſus Chriſt. I do not mean by this, that I "am about to expatiate in any formal manner, but what can I "ſpeak of at all, that does not exemplify this grand, this ſovereign "truth. Yea, day unto day uttereth ſpeech, and night unto night "ſheweth knowledge. Every returning revolution of time, every "change of circumſtances, every incident in human affairs, is, to a "mind ſpiritually enlightened, a loud proclamation of the emiſſion "of that love, the beginning of which cannot be traced, nor its end

"ever

" ever be. Then, my dear Brother, when our eyes are taken off " the things which are ſeen, when with ſupramundane wings we " ſoar to the regions above, how ſweet is meditation, how delight- " ful to be conſtantly viewing the things which are not perceived, " how animating a theme of contemplation is what eye hath not " ſeen, nor ear heard, and cannot poſſibly enter the heart of finite " man to conceive. Theſe are paradoxes indeed to the ſenſualiſt, " but gracious truths realized to the man of God. Surely, then, " I agree with you that Jeſus doth all things well, even in turning " us back and ſeparating us, as he hath done. May he grant that " it may have gracious effects. Already, methinks, I taſte its be- " nign influences on our hearts in general: like the effect of David's " harp on Saul, the ſoul is calmed.

" Bleſſed be God, however we have gone aſtray from Chriſt, he " never, never forſakes us; however we have neglected him, he will " not neglect us; however our hearts may be heavy in ſupplication, " his ear is not heavy to hear; however we have emaciated our poor " weak minds, his arm is not ſhortened that he cannot ſave; " however we have ſet our hearts upon idols, he reſts in his love; " however mutable we may be with him, there is in him no " change, no variableneſs, or ſhadow of turning. Yes, my dear " Brother, we feel our poverty, but in Jeſus we behold unſearchable " riches. We feel our weakneſs, but let us rely on him, who is " mighty to ſave, even unto the very uttermoſt, all who come to " him by faith. We feel our emptineſs; in Jeſus dwelleth all ful- " neſs, from him iſſue effuſions of grace, pouring into his dear " peoples' hearts, and out of that fulneſs can we receive grace for " grace. We feel our ignorance; in him is moſt excellent wiſdom. " We feel our vileneſs; in Chriſt is perfect righteouſneſs. We " feel our depravity; in Chriſt is ſanctification to us. Finally, we " feel our ruin; in Chriſt is plenteous redemption. Glory, ho- " nour, praiſe, might, and dominion, be aſcribed to him, who " made heaven and earth, and even hell to wonder. Methinks if " an angel of light and glory dare doubt, he might ſay with one of " old, *Will God, in very deed, dwell with man?* Will he, who is " omnipotent, the eternal I AM, condeſcend to tabernacle with " creatures of a moment. Yes, grace, mercy, and truth, be " aſcribed to his bleſſed name, his ways are not as our ways, his " thoughts, not as our thoughts. We can hardly exert greatneſs " of ſoul ſufficient to pardon a fellow-worm. God's dealings are " as tranſcendently higher than our's as the heavens are above the " earth. O for hearts to truſt in him! O for ſanctified wills to " ſerve him, and ſanctified affections towards him! But the time " ſhall come, when we ſhall no more want even the delightful " grace of prayer, nor faith, nor hope. Faith ſhall be exchanged " for reality, hope turned into poſſeſſion, and prayer into inceſſant " ſongs of praiſe to him, who ſits upon the throne, and to the " Lamb for ever. With theſe ideas, even grim death himſelf,

" turns

" turns his frown into a ſmile. The chriſtian may truly challenge " him with his vain boaſting, ſmile at his ſting, and defy the victory " of the gluttonous grave; it will be but a dark entry to the man- " ſions of bliſs. It is Jeſus, who is the mighty victor, and chriſ- " tians the trophies of his all-conquering arm. It is Chriſt, who " hath led captivity captive, who is deſtruction to the deſtroyer, " and hath utterly vanquiſhed the prince of darkneſs: *therefore,* " *with joy ſhall we draw water out of the wells of ſalvation.* Yes, " my beloved Brother, let us cry out, and ſhout aloud, with the " whole family of God, for great is the holy one, who dwelleth in " the midſt of us.

" Bleſſed be God, we have evident demonſtrations of his guardian " protection! The ſtormy night on Tueſday was one of the in- " numerable inſtances of this truth: it continued until near four " o'clock on Wedneſday morning. At half paſt three I witneſſed " what I had never done before, the moſt awful flaſh, burſting " into many channels of forked lightning, which ſo affected my " eyes, that I was obliged to put up my hands to ſcreen them: I " heard it burſt from the clouds, immediately over the ſhip, like " the noiſe of a vaſt quantity of gravel ruſhing down a copper; " inſtantly after this, there was a moſt tremendous peal of thunder; " I was on the larboard-ſide of the quarter-deck, and received no " injury, though ſeveral who were on the ſtarboard were driven " againſt the balliſter.

" I have nothing ſtrange to tell you of more than what will be " the wonder of eternity. May we be among thoſe who ſhall be " wondered at, is the prayer of, " Dear Brother,

" Your's, in the bleſſed Lord Jeſus.

" T. F. G."

Some lines, encloſed, on a ſenſe of God's protection, will appear in the appendix, amongſt mine, &c.

Monday, 26th. The Commodore chaſed a brig which hoiſted Swediſh colours. At ſeven A. M. overtook her, and ſent his boat, as we alſo did our's, to obtain ſome intelligence from Europe. She came from Barcelona in Spain, and was bound to America. On board of this veſſel was a lady who ſpoke broken Engliſh, and ſent three pieces of Engliſh ſalt beef, with a few almonds, as a preſent to our females. We received this information, that the French fleet had

been lately off Liſbon, and that the plague raged with violence on the Coaſt of Barbary.

Thurſday, 29th. The wind was yet fair, and we made a pleaſant progreſs. I acknowledge the propriety of the Dutch proverb, "*Nothing is loſt by praying, or got by thieving*," and deſire to give thanks unto the Lord for the innumerable evidences of his kind attention.

As we drew nigh the ſhores of Europe, where hoſtility unfolds her direful banners, our officers expreſſed their apprehenſion of being interrupted; while the daily preparation made with the inſtruments of war on board, ſpoke powerfully to us, "*Be ye alſo ready*," and "*watch and pray*." We therefore agreed to hold a prayer meeting every Thurſday morning, expreſsly for the purpoſe of ſupplicating protection for our Brethren and Siſters, with us, from every enemy, ſo that we might reach in ſafety the deſired port. Our boat being ſent this day to the French lady's ſhip, we received a large freſh fiſh, and ſome other proviſions. Thus hitherto, even on the trackleſs ocean, our God has ſupplied our wants.

Sunday, Sept. 1ſt. This was a fine day, and our ordinances were both pleaſant and profitable. We commemorated the death of our bleſſed Lord. All the wine in the cabin being expended, we had procured a ſmall quantity for that purpoſe from an officer on board; but previouſly to our entering on the ſervice, on aſking for bread, we were kindly offered ſome of the wine uſed by the prieſt only at maſs: however, as

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we had obtained some before, we declined accepting it. Two of the officers attended as spectators. The boat being dispatched to the Meduza, we sent, as usual, letters to our brethren, and from them received answers. They contained the painful intelligence of our Brethren's increasing weakness, through want of proper nourishment and bad lodging. Brother Joseph Smith informed me that he was exceedingly weak, and found it difficult to bear up under the trial; another, that most were in the same state; and Brother Jerrard wrote the following, which I here insert:

"DEAR SIR,

"Your few lines, written as a token of Christian love, bear, in "my estimation, no resemblance to blank paper, for if true love "to the Brethren be the leading characteristic of a Christian, the "sweetest bond by which kindred souls are united, if it be so frequently and so solemnly enjoined by the great Head of the Church, "and the existence of it so indispensibly necessary, in order to a "right performance of any duty towards our Brethren, surely "every thing that tends to strengthen or increase this happy grace "and disposition in the soul should be received with that particular esteem and regard which its excellency demands. The Scriptures, with which you have a better acquaintance than I, "abound with the highest commendations of this heavenly principle; and how could the revelation of God be otherwise, for "he himself is love, and love shines through all his conduct towards men. It was an act of goodness in him to create (though "infinitely happy in and of himself) millions of creatures, with "capacities to know and enjoy something of his unsearchable goodness and glorious perfections. What but his love moved him to "pity us, when fallen into sin and subject to all its bitter consequences, when there was no eye to pity, no hand to save? He "remembered us in our low estate, and it became a time of love. "Therefore, blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus "Christ, who hath blessed us with all spiritual blessings in him, "and hath chosen us in him, that we might be holy and blameless "before him in love. How natural, then, is the argument of the "Apostle; 'If God so loved us, we ought also to love one another.' 'Behold,' saith the royal Psalmist, 'how good and pleasant it is for Brethren to dwell together in unity.' Well might the

" the Apoſtle urge the Philippians by the moſt endearing ties of our " holy Religion, to be of one mind: 'If there be any conſolation " in Chriſt, if any comfort of love, if any fellowſhip of the Spirit, " if any bowels and mercy, fulfil ye my joy, that ye be like-mind- " ed, having the ſame love and of one accord.' As this grace is " ſo pleaſing in the ſight of God our Saviour, ſo deſirable to poſ- " ſeſs, and ſo uſeful in the Church, it is no wonder that the ene- " my of God and men, and all righteouſneſs, ſhould make ſuch op- " poſition to its growth in our hearts. And, alas! how often does " he prevail in ſowing diſcord among Brethren, and raiſing mul- " titudes of evil ſurmiſes and injurious ſuſpicions in our breaſts. " But let us rejoice that the accuſer of the Brethren ſhall be caſt " out, and the God of Peace bruiſe Satan under our feet ſhortly.

" I doubt not but that we are particularly remembered by you " and other dear friends on board the Amazona, and I truſt you " are all remembered at a Throne of Grace by us. I hope that " Mrs. Gregory has recovered from her indiſpoſition, and that " Mrs. Hawkins is better. None of us are poſitively ill, but moſt " of us very weak, owing to the increaſing badneſs of the provi- " ſions, from which our ſtomachs recoil, though we are generally " hungry to an extreme. But it is written, '*Man ſhall not live* " *by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of* " *God.*' This heavenly manna loſeth nothing of its ſweetneſs in " a ſtate of affliction, but rather increaſes: I find the ſpecial ſpi- " ritual preſence of God makes my heaven in every ſtate; with " this, I truſt, I have been favoured on board of this ſhip, and it gives " us no ſmall pleaſure to underſtand by your letters that the ſame " goodneſs and mercy daily follow you. And while the Lord is " graciouſly favouring us with a wind ſo propitious to our ſpeedy " paſſage, we look forward with joy to the time when we ſhall, I " hope, meet together to worſhip and praiſe that God, who hath " loved us, and done ſo great things for us. To whom be glory " for ever and ever, Amen. Be ſo kind as to remember me re- " ſpectfully and affectionately to the dear friends on board.

" I remain, dear Sir,

" Your unworthy but affectionate Brother,

" (Quite in haſte) " J. JERRARD."

All our flour being conſumed, as we paſſed a ſhip this evening our Captain hailed her, and pleaded for a ſmall ſupply for our table; when the boat being ſent, we received the ſame, with ſome pigs, and through this providence we were ſupplied a few days longer.

Monday, 2d. We held the Miſſionary prayer-meeting in the Captain's cabin, which he had kindly offered

offered to us on the occaſion, and we enjoyed a ſolemn and profitable meeting. Drawing near the weſtern iſland of Corva, one of the fleet hoiſted the ſignal that land was in ſight, which in looking out for, we ſaw a ſtrange ſail, but as the fleet was now ſcattered, our Captain, inſtead of receiving orders to chaſe, was commanded to collect the ſhips, and no land could be ſeen.

Tueſday, 3d. Men being continually at the maſthead to look out for land, at nine A. M. it was again ſuppoſed to be ſeen, bearing ſouth; but after waiting in the expectation of enjoying a clearer diſcovery, as to it we ſuppoſed we advanced, it diſappeared, and proved to be only a cloud. The boat being ſent to the Meduza, I received ſeveral pleaſing epiſtles of love from the Brethren, but learned that their ſtate of health was the ſame as before. Mrs. Hill had been ſent to the brig on Wedneſday laſt, to be ready at the time of Mrs. Beattie's delivery, but we received no intelligence from them By the boat we received a ſmall ſupply of flour, ſufficient for the conſumption of two or three days.

Wedneſday, 4th. The Commodore, who was now a great way a-head of the fleet in ſearch of land, at ten A. M. hoiſted the ſignal that it was ſeen, but the ſight of a ſquadron of three ſhips and a brigantine ſoon drew our attention from land, with the expectation that more would ſpeedily appear in ſight. This fleet was cloſe hauled, all ſails ſet, getting to windward

ward of us, and we expected them quickly to bear down upon us, and that a few hours would decide the events of this meeting. Immediately all our boxes, beds, &c. were taken below, the decks cleared for action, and we waiting at times in expectation of being removed into another ſtate of trial. However, in the midſt of the confuſion, in preparing for an engagement, moſt of us found opportunity to aſſemble, and commit ourſelves to the Lord by prayer and ſupplication, with peculiar compoſure, as the myſterious way of the Lord with us on the great water, ſeemed to ſpeak, "*Be ſtill, and know that I am God.*" At three, P. M. they diſappeared, but ſeveral were the conjectures reſpecting this, as ſome imagined that it was only a manœuvre for the purpoſe of bearing down upon us in the night, ſo that the cheſts, &c. remained below, and the people under arms.

The land now was clearly viſible, the iſland of Corva and Florence bearing S. E. and towards them we ſteered our courſe, being about twelve leagues diſtant. The ſight of iſlands fixed in the ocean by the almighty Architect, affords a grand and pleaſing ſight to thoſe ſo enlightened, as to behold *the wonders of the Lord in the great deep*, and with us were not indulged with a view of land for many days. Both theſe iſlands are high, but that of Florence is the higheſt, and ſeparated from each other by the ſea, about three leagues, from what I could conjecture.

Thurſday, 5th. We had reaſon to be thankful for another

another night's tranquillity, as we were not interrupted by the ſtrange fleet, but permitted to continue our courſe.

Friday, 6th. This was the firſt day that we were, ſtrictly ſpeaking, in want of bread, though we had been compelled to have only two meals per day: but the kindneſs of our Captain and officers was the ſame, as they put themſelves on the ſame allowance, and we were convinced that if they had poſſeſſed it to give, we ſhould have partaken of it. Mrs. Gregory having little Ebenezer to ſuckle, during ſo long a voyage, and Mrs. Jones having the ſame duty to perform in the brig, felt this trial the moſt ſevere. Knowing the ſcarcity on board, we could not take the liberty to aſk for food, and my wife retiring to reſt under the painful ſenſation of hunger; through the child's ſucking all night, ſhe has occaſionally fainted away with weakneſs by morning. Yet the Lord gave ſtrength ſufficient for the day, preſerved in every ſtate, *and in every trial made a way for our eſcape.* The ſubſtitute for bread, called ferinee, of which we now partook, is a white root, which grows in South America, the juice of which is fatal poiſon, to extract which they have hot kilns to dry and preſs the ſame from the root, which is then beat as ſmall as ſaw-duſt, when it is fit to eat, but exceedingly dry, and a ſmall quantity in the mouth will immediately dry up all moiſture.

For our breakfaſt this morning it was boiled like water-gruel, to eat with coffee, and at dinner perfectly dry.

Saturday,

Saturday, 7th. The wind continued favourable, but in conſequence of our neceſſitous ſtate, and that of the poor ſeamen, which was ſtill worſe, we were concerned at ſeeing the little progreſs made by the Commodore. It was daily aſſerted, that the peculiar pecuniary advantages ariſing from his being out at ſea, was the cauſe of our delay, which unfavourable opinion, I fear, was too often confirmed.

Sunday, 8th. Hitherto the Lord had continued to us our goſpel ordinances on his day, and favoured us with many comfortable moments. The wind now ſhifted againſt us, which made ſome impreſſion on our minds.

Monday, 9th. In the night we were awakened by the roaring of the wind, and the violent beating of the ſea againſt the ſhip: the ſtern window, under which I ſlept, being forced open, every thing was ſcattered about us till I got it ſhut; chairs, tables, &c. in the cabin, were going from ſide to ſide, and the water pouring in at the ports, rolled in the ſame manner, during which time we had enough to do to keep ourſelves and children together on the bed. At three, the gale blew with violence, all the ſails and topmaſts were ſtruck, and the frigate lay to. At day light, the ocean preſented a tremendous, grand, and awful ſcene: the ſea ran mountains high, and appeared ready to ſwallow up all into its boſom; but we knew *ſafety to be of the Lord.* If mariners may reſt ſatisfied reſpecting their ſafety, from the knowledge of their ſhips being ſound, much more may the man who is

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intereſted in Chriſt, to whom the language of ſcripture is applied: "*Happy art thou, O Iſrael, who is like unto thee, a people ſaved by the Lord.*"

This gale diſperſed the fleet, not a ſingle ſhip was in ſight, and we entertained fears for the ſafety of our Brethren and Siſters in the little brig; we alſo ſuppoſed that we ſhould proceed alone for the remainder of our voyage, as our Captain could not tell what courſe to ſteer in order to fall in with them; men were ſtationed at the maſt-head to look out, and in the courſe of the day four ſail were ſeen, towards which we ſhaped our courſe, and before it was dark ſaw ſeveral others, when the Commodore fired a gun, and altered his courſe: a brig, which we ſaw a great way to leeward, prevented us, however, from reaching them; our Captain bore down towards her, and hoiſted the ſignal for her to ſet ſail, when ſhe hoiſted the ſignal of diſtreſs, and on our approach informed us by the ſpeaking trumpet, that ſhe was very leaky, ſhipped much water, and was ſo much damaged in her maſts and rigging, as to be able only to ſet her fore-ſail: the ſea ran too high to get out a boat; our Captain hoiſted a lanthorn, as ſhe alſo did during the night, and kept as near her as prudence would admit. Great fears were entertained reſpecting ſome of the fleet, and Captain Garcao was much diſtreſſed. The ſhip's company experienced this day, an additional trial, as, through our reduced circumſtances, they were put upon an allowance of about a wine-pint of water per day.

Tueſday, 10th. The Commodore was out of ſight, but the ſtorm had now in ſome meaſure ſubſided, and early the boat was ſent to the veſſel, when we learned that her bowſprit had ſprung in three places, the main topmaſt alſo was in the ſame ſtate, and ſhe had much water in the hold: ſhe was now taken in tow at our ſtern, and we ſailed after the reſt, which we overtook in the afternoon, and paſſed, when we were indulged with a view of ſeveral of our Brethren.

Wedneſday, 11th. We ſaw another ſhip which had loſt her main-maſt, and the boat was ſent to her aſſiſtance. There was little wind, and that gradually declined till it was calm, which occaſioned moſt of us great anxiety, and our kind Captain, who had been a father and friend in the day of adverſity to us, was driven even to rebellion againſt the God of heaven: though his natural diſpoſition was kind, he yet exhibited a convincing proof of human depravity, and that *the carnal mind is enmity againſt God*; for, on my coming upon deck, when he ſpoke to me about the calm, he ſpat againſt the heavens to ſhew his diſapprobation. I was ſo much grieved that I am compelled to notice the circumſtance, though with no evil intention. I pray God that it may not be laid to his charge, but that for his unparalleled humanity, and many cups *of cold water* given to us, he may be bleſſed *with grace and glory*, and every real good: but to confirm thoſe eſſential doctrines which are taught in the Bible, that whatever goodneſs mortals have to boaſt of, yet the ſame evil remains in the human heart, and

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that *there is none righteous, no not one.* The evening preſented a ſolemn ſilence, and again we united in pleading for a favourable wind.

Thurſday, 12th. At ſix, A. M. we received the wonted bleſſing; the fleet began to make progreſs, and we being encouraged to believe that our God was yet mindful of us, joined in a tribute of praiſe. Mr. Leveſque and I went this afternoon in the jolly-boat to viſit the Brethren and Siſters on board of the brig: we ſaw each other with pleaſure, and were happy to find moſt of them well Mrs. Hughes was ſtill very weak, and her indiſpoſition ſeemed to be daily increaſing: the little appetite which ſhe had for food could not be ſatisfied by the putrid beef and ſcanty allowance of water given, and the other articles of proviſion, black beans boiled in the dirty, rainy water, taken from the deck and ſerinee, were ſurely very improper for her afflicted ſtate; yet theſe only were provided for them by the inhuman Commodore. However, it afforded us no ſmall pleaſure to hear and ſee how the Lord had ſupported them in a ſtate of trial, and the *viſible diſplays of his proviaence* in ſupplying their wants. Providentially, on their part, the boat went to the French lady's ſhip, when one going in her, received a ſupply from this compaſſionate female, one bag of bread, another of rice, ſome ſweetmeats, coffee, ſugar, with ſome ſweetbread for the children, beſides a couple of fowls, and a bottle of wine for Mrs. Beattie; and the good providence of God had often ſupplied them with ſome ſmall fiſh,

all of which, in their ſituation, were received as manna from heaven. Mrs. Beattie was not yet delivered, and Mrs. Hill, after ſtaying nine days, was compelled, on account of her health, to be removed to the Meduza. After converſing together for a ſhort time, we returned, in hopes of meeting ſoon to offer up praiſes to the God of our ſalvation.

On the return of the boat, ſent to the Commodore, I received ſeveral letters from the Brethren on board, which proved that they were yet in the furnace of affliction, and that this tedious voyage was fatiguing both to body and mind, that *hope deferred made the heart ſick*, and that *a good word from the Lord could lift it up*; to prove which, I inſert the following letter, being one out of eight, that I received this day.

" Very dear and Rev. Sir, " *September 5th*, 1799.

" I was very much honoured, and highly gratified, with " the letter ſent: it was refreſhing as the cooling ſtream to the " thirſty heart; but what muſt the fountain be which ſends forth " ſuch exhilarating ſtreams. O! what a bleſſing to have a heart " teeming with love to God and man. How like to Chriſt to be " ready to forgive injuries! I heartily agree with you that it is " pleaſant for Brethren to dwell together in unity; it is like the dew " on Hermon's top, fructifying what was hitherto barren as the " mountains of Gilboa: but, oh! what is our love when compared " with the love of Chriſt; it dwindles into nothing; it is like the " feeble light of the glow-worm to the blaze of the meridian ſun: " many waters could not quench it, nor the floods drown it; ſtrong " it was as death, powerful as the grave. O! to be permitted to " ride in that chariot which he has built of the wood of Lebanon, " the pillars whereof are of ſilver, the bottom of gold, the cover- " ing of purple, the midſt thereof being paved with love for the " daughters of Jeruſalem. Will you go forth, Sir, and behold " King Solomon with the crown, wherewith his mother crown- " ed him: oh! he ſets it well; look at his bleſſed face, it is " white and ruddy; let him kiſs me with the kiſſes of his mouth, " for his love is better than wine: yes, as Jeſus, thou art altogether " lovely: in the preſence of a bleſſed trinity of Angels that excel

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" in ſtrength, of nominal, almoſt chriſtians, we declare that this " is our *beloved*, and this is our *friend*.

" Sir, you are charged by all his lovely names, by all his lovely " promiſes, by all his love-tokens, when you are permitted to ride " with him, and have freedom to unboſom your ſoul, to tell him that " there are ſome in the Meduza that are ſick of love: why tarry " his chariot-wheels? for months paſt he has been coming out of " his place with a rod to chaſtiſe us. Come, let us enter into our " chamber, and ſhut the door about us, until the indignation be " over and paſt. The boat is a going, ſo here I leave you ſafe, as " Noah was when ſhut up in the ark, by God's own hand.

" The Steward preſents his beſt wiſhes. All the Brethren ſend " greeting to the Brethren and Siſters on board of the Amazona.

" I remain, your's, &c. " DANIEL MILLAR."

Soon after the return of the boat a ſtrange ſail appeared, bearing down to the fleet, and our Captain received orders to give chaſe, which was done, when ſhe hoiſted American colours, and our boat was ſent to bring the Captain on board. After the uſual interrogation, we found that her name was the Murphy, of Providence, North America, Captain Hicks, from Liſbon. Captain Garcao purchaſed a ſmall keg of wine, and would have alſo got bread, but he had none to ſpare; he ſent, however, about twenty biſcuits to the females, which proved highly acceptable. The wind being ſtrong and fair, in conſequence of the delay occaſioned by this veſſel, the fleet was out of ſight.

Friday, 13th. The wind blew powerfully but fair, which not only penetrated my ear but heart, when, in reviewing my Journal, I ſaw that never once from the time of our capture had we held a prayer-meeting upon particular occaſions, but our requeſt was granted, and, that what we had not received was, as faith

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the Apoſtle, *becauſe we aſked not.* Towards evening we perceived a ſhip in diſtreſs, and were compelled to remain near her all night, till the ſea abated ſo as with ſafety to ſend the boat.

Saturday, 14th. The wind having decreaſed, early in the morning, the boat was ſent to this ſhip, which was much damaged in her maſts and rigging, while her hull remained ſound. Some aſſiſtance was given, and we proceeded ſlowly, till the fleet, by 10 A. M. was ſeen from the maſt-head. Receiving ſome private information of the ſtate of our ſhip, in conſequence of the gale, and that the knee of the head and gripe had ſtarted off from the bows ſix inches, Brother Leveſque and I went to ſurvey the ſame unnoticed, leſt we ſhould alarm our wives; we found that we had been rightly informed, but that means had been uſed to keep them together, yet, that another gale muſt carry the gripe wholly away, and we were glad that we drew nigh our deſignated port.

Suddenly we perceived all the fleet in full ſail, turned back and coming to meet us, and apprehenſions were entertained that ſome other fleet was in purſuit of them, which however was not the caſe. As we ſailed through the fleet, in paſſing the Poſtillihio, Captain Robſon hailed us, and aſked for ſome medicine. The boat was accordingly ſent, and our kind Captain, who knew in ſome degree the ſituation of our ſiſters, ſent them two fowls, ſix bottles of wine, and ſix of brandy, ſome ſugar, and a ſmall keg of Brazil rum. A ſupply like this, in their ſtate, muſt have

have proved acceptable at any period of this voyage, but more so at the present time, and we acknowledged the hand of God in it. When the boat returned, we learned that Mrs. Beattie had been delivered of a son, and was in a fair way of doing well. We were much rejoiced at this news, and saw a *visible display of mercy* even in the return of the fleet, as by it they were relieved, and we received this intelligence. Doctor Turner's letter to me upon this occasion, is more expressive on the subject, which I here insert.

"*Postillibio De Amerique, Sept.* 17*th*, 1799.

"DEAR BROTHER,

"YOUR short and kind note of Saturday I received, "and am happy to hear that I have a place in your memory, and I "doubt not but that I am also remembeeed, when you approach "the throne of grace. May the Lord grant I may experience the "benefit of your prayers. I was happy to learn that you and your "family were in good health, and I hope you continue to enjoy the "same valuable blessing.

"You would, no doubt, be all highly pleased at hearing that "Mrs. Beattie had been safely brought to bed. I am happy to have "it in my power to say, that both she and the big boy are doing "well, and I hope he will be an additional one to our society, "on our arrival in England. I am in good health, Mrs. Hughes "continues weak, but I hope will be better when she arrives "at Lisbon, a period I flatter myself not far distant. The rest "are all well. Time will not permit me to write much. I trust "you still find the Lord among you, blessing and doing you good. "I trust we do the same, and what he sent us on Saturday was not "a small token. We could not but observe how that day's provi- "dence was cleared up to us. We felt ourselves not a little dis- "tressed at having not only to lay to, but to lose ground by the de- "lay, which the ship you were after occasioned. But "shall not "the Judge of all the earth do right?" It was a way by which He "would supply us with what we ourselves thought we stood in "need of. If it had not been for that ship, it is probable that we "had not come near enough to have hailed you, and if so, those "very articles with which you supplied us, must absolutely have "failed. May we not, from this instance, expect that even in time "God will clear up many of his dispensations of Providence with

"us;

" us ; and ſimple as the above circumſtance may appear in the eyes " of the world, what a call is it to believers to exerciſe faith in God, " and commit into his hands all our cares and concerns. He hath " ſaid, " I will never leave thee nor forſake thee," but in ſix trou- " bles, yea, in ſeven, I will be with thee, and ſurely do thee good. " Let us be no longer faithleſs, but believing. Remember me to " your ſpouſe, and all the Brethren and Siſters.

" I am, dear Brother,

" Your's ſincerely,

" SAMUEL TURNER."

The wind was now very favourable, and it was expected that we would reach Liſbon in a few days.

Wedneſday, 18th. At 3 P. M. an unuſual noiſe of joy took place throughout the ſhip, when, on enquiry, we heard the welcome news that terra firma was in ſight : but, after two hours had elapſed, the ſuppoſed land diſappeared. We agreed this day to preſent a letter of thanks to our kind Captain Garcao, for his humane attention to us. We accordingly did, and delivered it in a body, when, on his receiving it, and underſtanding its contents, he returned his ſincere thanks, with this obſervation, " that he did not " merit the reſpect which we had ſhewn him."

(COPY.)

" HONOURED SIR, *Amazona, Sept.* 18*th* 1799.

" WE, a part of the late captured Miſſionaries, paſſen- " gers in the Ship Duff of London, impreſſed with a grateful ſenſe " of your unparalleled kindneſs manifeſted towards us, and your " unbounded attention to our wives and children, ſince we were " received on board of the Amazona, humbly pray your ac- " ceptance of this feeble, but grateful acknowledgment of the " ſame.

" We entertain a higher opinion of your honour, than to believe " that a multitude of words are neceſſary to expreſs the ſame, to " your conviction. Be aſſured that we retain a grateful impreſſion " of your humanity and kindneſs, and conſider you, as under God,

" the

" the inſtrument of our preſervation, and ſhall believe ourſelves " bound by every ſenſation of love, to tranſmit to the lateſt " poſterity, in our native country, the memory of a man whom " we cannot but eſteem, and pray that the Lord of heaven and " earth, the giver of ever good and perfect gift, may return it ſeven-" fold into your Honour's boſom,

" So pray your Honour's moſt humble and obliged Servants,

" *William Gregory*,	" *William Soddy*,
" *Peter Leveſque*,	" *James Reid*,
" *Joſhua L. Vardy*,	" *Joſeph Cooper*,
" *John Leveſque*,	" *Griffith Parry*,
" *Walter Hawkins*,	" *John Guard*.

" P. S. We humbly requeſt you to preſent our moſt grateful ac-" knowledgments to M. D. Mint and Senor Naronha, for their " kindneſs, liberality, and attention to us, and our thanks to all " your officers for their politeneſs."

" *Illmo Snr*,

" *Franciſco de Borja Sallama Garcão, Capitao de Mar, e Guerra,* " *e Commandante da fragate Amazona*."

Thurſday, 19th. No land was in ſight in the morning, but when the day advanced it was again reported that it was ſeen: our expectations, however, were diſappointed as before. At ſix, P. M. our attention was arreſted by the ſight of ſix ſtrange ſail, which ſeemed to have a deſign of ſurrounding the fleet in the night: our Captain now appeared more alarmed than ever he was before, and we concluded that none of us would enjoy any reſt during this night. At eight o'clock the Commodore hoiſted the night-ſignal to prepare for action, and the uſual ſcenes were preſented to our view: we dared not undreſs any of the children, nor had we any place in which we could put them to reſt. The ſerious apprehenſions entertained of the force of theſe ſhips conveyed to us an idea that we ſhould ſoon be removed into captivity; in expectation of which we ſat with our

clothes, ready to ſhift ourſelves and to remove, if another ſeparation ſhould take place, in which ſituation my wife and I remained with the youngeſt of the children in our arms, while the others by our ſide fell faſt aſleep upon the deck. At ten, one ſhip croſſed the fleet a-head, but yet the others did not bear down, when waiting till paſt midnight, we all enjoyed a temporary repoſe upon deck.

Friday, 20th. Praiſe muſt be aſcribed to our God, that we were protected the laſt night, and met with no interruption. At one, P. M. from the maſt-head land was diſcovered, but as we had been ſo often diſappointed, we thought it beſt not to be too ſanguine in our hopes. At ten, P. M. a ſtrange ſail was very near us, which we boarded, and the Captain, who was a Swiſs, was brought on board the Amazona.

CHAP. VIII.

Arrival, with other Particulars, at Portugal; Re-embarkation at Liſbon, and Arrival in England.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 21ſt.

LAND was now clearly diſcovered, and beheld by us and all on board with pleaſure, but we were yet uncertain whether we ſhould reach the port without interruption, as five ſtrange ſail were in ſight, three of which we paſſed. At noon we were off the rock of Liſbon, and ſome fiſhing-boats brought us alongſide

alongſide ſome grapes, melons, &c. which we received, as an evidence of the goodneſs of our God towards us. We now met two Engliſh ſloops of war, when the Commodore ſent on board of the Spaniſh ſchooner, which he had taken under his convoy at ſea, the Portugueſe colours to hoiſt, which they did, as they paſſed the Britiſh ſhips, but after they had paſſed, and the ſchooner had got within the fort, ſhe hoiſted the Spaniſh, on perceiving which, one of the ſloops returned, and coming near the Commodore, the Captain required of him to ſurrender her in his Britannic Majeſty's name, and went in his boat on board for that purpoſe: the requiſition, however, was not regarded, and the Engliſh ſloop ſtill keeping near, and running between the Meduza and the Spaniard, the Commodore fired a gun without ſhot, ſoon after which, about five, P. M. all the fleet came to an anchor, and the Spaniſh Captain continued in poſſeſſion of his veſſel. This circumſtance was referred for diſcuſſion at Liſbon, and the cauſe, I underſtand, was decided in favour of the Portugueſe Commodore. We all remained on board, and abundance of fruit was brought from the ſhore, while our proſpects became very pleaſant, as well as our enjoyments.

Sunday, 22d. We agreed amongſt ourſelves that, if we were permitted, none of us would go on ſhore this day, but unite in aſcribing ſalvation to our God in the ordinances of his grace, which we accordingly did. Brothers Leveſque, Vardy, and I, preached,

and in the afternoon we were visited by Capt. Robson and Dr. Turner.

Monday, 23d. Captain Robson, Messrs. Smith, Howell, and Broughton, went on shore, for the purpose of laying before the English Consul some particulars respecting our capture, and the conduct of the Commodore. I shall only remark upon this head, that our reception at Lisbon differed much from that which we had experienced at the enemy's port of Monte Video, as it was some time after our arrival before any appeared to pay any attention to our destitute state. We had not yet received any intelligence from our native country, but this evening Dr. Turner brought us two English newspapers, containing two accounts, in which we were deeply interested, and which I read to the Brethren and Sisters; these were, Mr. Wilson's letter from America, relative to our capture, and the expulsion of our Brethren from Otaheite. From the first we were satisfied that our captivity was known, and the second made a most powerful impression on our minds, as it tended to unravel some of the Lord's mysterious dealings with us, and we each could *justify the ways of God to men.*

Tuesday, 24th. I went on shore with my wife, accompanied by Messrs. Levesque and their wives, and walked round the town, which, to us, seemed *to be wholly given up to idolatry*, as altars and images, with inscriptions, are numerous, to which the devotees evidently pay adoration as to an *unknown God.* We

were

were met by one of the priests belonging to the frigate, who accompanied and entertained us in a liberal manner, after which we returned on board.

Wednesday, 25th. All our officers having left the ship, and others coming on board, Brothers Levesque and I went on shore, for the purpose of procuring lodgings, which, after some time, we were compelled to hire at a public-house, which was kept by an English woman. For a single room we engaged to pay, for any time not exceeding a month, three moidores, equivalent to £4 1s. We then brought our wives and my children and beds on shore, and all the three families took up their residence at the inn, sleeping on our own beds, which were placed upon the floor, for the first time on shore for these 139 days. We found this place uncomfortable, and our living, though indifferent, very expensive. Most of the Brethren were now on shore, but no supply was yet granted to any. The money which could now be collected was rapidly expending, and we longed for the time of our departure from this inhospitable place and people.

Mrs. Hughes had been previously taken on shore, on account of her severe indisposition, which had gradually increased from the want of the proper necessaries of life. She was now so far advanced towards the grave, as to be able to receive but little of those blessings of which she had so long been deprived by the second capture, and the inhumanity of the Portugueſe Commodore. After she reached the shore, we

we hoped that with proper attention, it would have yet pleaſed the Lord to reſtore her to wonted health.

Mrs. Hill, who was on board of the Meduza, and approaching to the hour of Nature's ſorrow, on Sunday, felt herſelf much indiſpoſed, when her huſband requeſted permiſſion to bring Dr. Turner from the brig to her aſſiſtance, but was abſolutely denied by the unfeeling Captain, who was again requeſted on Monday to ſuffer her to go on ſhore; but this was alſo refuſed, as he ſaid they were priſoners, and could not be liberated before the Engliſh Conſul came to take cognizance of them. Brother Hill's extracts, from which I received the above account, gives this farther information. "After my wife," ſays he, "was denied a requeſt, ſo abſolutely neceſſary in her "ſituation, her mind was diſtreſſed, and ſhe pleaded "the neceſſity of her being ſuffered to depart, when, "at laſt, ſhe and I were ordered to go on ſhore. "This, however, was effected with much difficulty "in her deſcending from the ſide of a ſhip ſo high as "this ſeventy-four. Immediately upon landing, I was "compelled to apply to the firſt place I could find, "to obtain a lodging, which was in a public inn, "when Mrs. Hill yet continued ill. Next day I went "for Dr. Turner, who, according to his uniform con-"duct, paid her the greateſt attention, and at half-paſt "ten o'clock at night, Tueſday the 24th, ſhe was "delivered of a dead child. My partner was enabled "to acquieſce in what it had pleaſed the Lord to do,

"an

" and ſaid, *It is the Lord, let him do what ſeemeth* " *good in his ſight*, and that *the Lord would be better to* " *her than ten ſons.* Brother Broughton and I inter- " red the body near the remains of the worthy Dr. " Doddridge, and my wife was ſo ill that her life was " deſpaired of, and a haſty diſſolution threatened."

Thurſday 26th. Our Captain was yet unable to obtain any pecuniary aſſiſtance, and ſeveral of the Brethren were in much want. I yet remained in my lodgings with my company, wiſhing much for deliverance. I was glad that one Gentleman had ſtepped forward to provide a paſſage for us to our native country; a Mr Joſeph Lyne, merchant, who offered money in exchange for bills upon the Society, to pay our paſſage in the packet and other ſhips. This proved highly acceptable to us, as a board of the packet ready money was requiſite before we could be received.

Saturday 28th. Agreeable to appointment I went with Captain Robſon, Meſſrs. Howell, P. Leveſque, and Vardy, on board of the Engliſh packet to breakfaſt, and ſettle about our paſſage home. We returned about one o'clock on ſhore, and proceeded towards our apartments. At this time an Engliſh gentleman, whom I had ſeen the day before, overtook me in his coach, and informed me that he was going to my lodgings, to ſee Mrs. Gregory and children, and wiſhed me to accompany him. To this I conſented, when, after a ſhort interview with my family, he requeſted me to go with him to a merchant, and when we arrived, expreſſed

preſſed his anxiety, aſſuring me that he was much grieved at what he had ſeen, that after ſo long and painful a voyage, Mrs. Gregory and her children ſhould be in ſuch a miſerable ſituation, a ſituation which he could never bear to witneſs. I informed him that painful neceſſity had forced me to the inn, and that it was my mercy the time of our continuance, I hoped, would not be long; to which he anſwered, that neceſſity did not compel me to remain; that although he had never heard of the Miſſionary Society or the Ship Duff, or knew any individual belonging to the inſtitution, yet for my own credit, and the honour of the Society, I ought to remove, and wiſhed to know if I had any objections to the meaſure, ſuppoſing that a proper proviſion was made for it. On my anſwering that I had none, he departed, obſerving that he ſhould ſee me again. About four in the afternoon he came to my lodgings, and calling me out, informed me that he wiſhed Mrs. Gregory, the children and me, to accompany him to a place which he had appointed for our reception at Buenos Ayres, and that the coach was waiting at the door to take us away immediately. This I communicated to my wife, who began to prepare for a removal while I returned to him and continued the converſation. He ſaid that he hoped I would find the new houſe comfortable, and that as there was probably more rooms and beds than I ſhould need, I was at liberty, on finding this to be the caſe, to take a friend with me, but that I had better not come to any reſolution on this head, until we had ſeen the

place,

place, and what room could be ſpared. I thanked him for his kindneſs, but obſerved that if there was more room, a Brother and Siſter might as well accompany us. Brother Leveſque coming up-ſtairs at the ſame time, I propoſed that Mrs. Leveſque ſhould go with my wife, while Mr. Leveſque and I walked. Theſe matters being arranged, we ſet out. On our arrival at our new dwelling, we were aſtoniſhed at ſeeing it, as it ſurpaſſed any that we had ſeen at Liſbon. It was the firſt floor of a large houſe conſiſting of ſeven rooms, five elegant beds, &c. but to particularize would appear an indulgence of vanity. He now requeſted me to accept of this place during our reſidence at Liſbon, obſerving that he was certain that Mrs. Gregory and the children required every poſſible comfort after ſuch a diſtreſsful voyage, and as far as it lay in his power ſhould have them. We drank tea together, when he deſired that I would mention every thing which I recollected to his ſervant, whom he would ſend every day to know whatwas wanted; then requeſting that he might dine with us next day, he departed. Within half an hour after he had left us, a ſervant was ſent with the following note, and the preſents which it ſpecifies. The name, however, of the gentleman is omitted, as I promiſed to take no public notice of it.

"Mr. —— has ſent Mr. Gregory twelve "bottles of port, ſix of porter, and two of ſweet "wine for the ladies. He wiſhes to know if the par-

" ty recollect any thing elſe in his power to ſend " them.

" *The Rev. Mr. Gregory.*"

I returned him my ſincere thanks for the favour, but declined naming any thing elſe; yet he ſent a large piece of beef, half of an excellent cheeſe for ſupper, and two ſervants, a man and a woman, to wait upon us. However, as we had not ſeen any appearance for a long time of having ſuch a comfortable night's repoſe, we ſoon retired to bed, and once more ſlept on a bedſtead, which neither my wife nor I had done for an hundred and forty-three nights paſt.

Sunday, 29th. This morning we attended worſhip at the Engliſh Ambaſſador's chapel, which is within his houſe, and after having heard the Rev. Mr. Hill, the Chaplain, partook in a moſt friendly manner of a dinner of our benefactor's providing, when he invited me to breakfaſt with him on Tueſday morning. Brothers Jones and Beattie, with their families, ſtill remained on board of the brig, and this afternoon Mr. Howell baptized Mr. Beattie's child, naming him Thomas.

Monday, 30th. Mr. Lyne having advanced the money to Captain Robſon, a paſſage was provided for us; ſome were appointed to join the packet, and ſome in a ſhip which would ſoon ſail in the fleet. We expected ſpeedily to re-embark, and hoped that by the good providence of God we ſhould be able to land where we now deſired, which we had not been permitted

mitted to do before, at the place of our designation. Mrs. Hill and Mrs. Hughes yet continued ill, and were not expected to sail with us: the former, we feared, was too much reduced, to encourage a hope that she would again unite with us, in this vale of tears. The trial had proved too great for her to support; yet her mind was daily strengthened, and she was enabled to look forward, though not to the land of England, to the spiritual land of Canaan, where we hope that we shall be re-united, never more to part. Mrs. Hill's indisposition also seemed to predict the same event last week, but the Lord had visibly interposed in providing the means of her restoration, which he so blessed as to begin her recovery. The gentleman who tendered the money for our passage, came and offered Mr. Hill his own physician, with any thing in his power. The medicine which she used answered the desired end, and she was yet in the land of the living to "*praise the Lord for his goodness, and declare the wonders which he doeth for the children of men.*

Thursday, Oct. 1st. I went this morning to breakfast with my kind benefactor, who had hitherto provided for us in abundance. I took with me a few odd numbers of the Evangelical Magazine, which I had preserved, and they tended to afford him some information respecting the Missionary Society, which he much wanted. These were accepted with pleasure, and we enjoyed a very agreeable conversation. Some extracts which I read from my Journal gave

him much ſatisfaction. He expreſſed a wiſh that it might be publiſhed, and that he might be indulged with a copy of it, together with my Correſpondence, and what information reſpecting the Miſſionary cauſe I could ſend, all of which I in return promiſed. He again enquired if any thing was wanted, and hoped I would not omit mentioning a ſingle article. But his liberality had completely put it out of my power to name any thing, as we had enough and to ſpare. He informed me that he had taken the houſe for a month, and would defray all expences during our ſtay at Liſbon, with the greateſt pleaſure; that if I could point out any way in which he could ſerve me, he would do it to the utmoſt of his power, and if my paſſage had not already been ſecured, by his intereſt, my deſire in that reſpect ſhould have been gratified. In anſwer to ſo kind a declaration of a ſtrange friend, in the day of adverſity, what could I do leſs, or in my ſituation, more than return him my moſt grateful thanks for his kindneſs? and believing that the Directors of the Miſſionary Society would join with me in every ſentiment of love and gratitude, aſſure him that I conceived myſelf to be authoriſed to return him the ſame thanks in the name of the Directors of that reſpectable Society, by whom I was engaged, and that every informration in my power ſhould be given on my return to England. Upon this he requeſted me to take no public notice of what he had done. After ſpending ſome comfortable time together I returned home, and he promiſed to ſee us again before we

failed.

failed, That I may not be too tedious, I briefly notice, that his kindneſs continued undiminiſhed during our ſtay. In the morning on which he came to take his leave of Mrs. Leveſque, Mrs. Gregory and the children, as we left the houſe, I went to give ſome recompenſe to the ſervants, but each of them ſaid that they were compelled to decline the offer, as Mr. —— had been there before, and made them promiſe that they would not receive a farthing.

I am conſtrained to make a few ſhort reflections on this other *viſible diſplay of the kindneſs of Providence* who in every place had raiſed up a friend in my behalf, ſo that we were yet "*entreated well in the time of evil,*" and "*goodneſs and mercy followed us.*"

Brother Leveſque, his ſpouſe, and my family were ſupported without any expence either to ourſelves or the Society, in a place where living was very expenſive. It coſt me for the few days only, before I received this offer, twenty-five dollars, procured by diſpoſing of a part of my wife and children's remnants of apparel, twenty-ſeven ſhillings of which was paid for our three nights' lodging. The rent of the premiſes which we occupied gratis, I was informed by our landlady, was eighteen moidores, or 24l. 6s. per month, nine ſhillings per head in the family, and two for each ſervant per day.

I cannot omit noticing what I conceive *a diſplay of Providence* throughout the voyage. It is reaſonable to ſuppoſe that the expences, incurred by women and children, are ſufficient to furniſh many with powerful arguments

arguments againſt the propriety of female and family Miſſionaries. I only notice what experience taught us in this afflictive providence. We were entreated well for our wives' ſake, and to them was peculiar kindneſs manifeſted on account of the children. The ſupport of my wife, my four children and myſelf, including the expences of her laying-in, (without mentioning what we procured on our own account), coſt little more than ſix guineas only, which we received from our Captain, at the expence of the Society, being part of the expence incurred in providing for the table at our houſe in Paraguay, where, before we left the place, we amounted in number, including the children, to nineteen; and our paſſage for four months, from the South Seas to Liſbon, through the capture, although trying in one reſpect, was providential in another, being in favour of the Society, as our conveyance to Europe was free of all expence.

I ſhall only notice a few things, relative to this country and people, not only on account of my confined limits, but as it may appear ſuperfluous to ſay much reſpecting a place ſo well known.

In Liſbon, the capital of Portugal, are ſeveral magnificent palaces, churches, and other public buildings. Its ſituation, as it riſes from the Tagus, in the form of a creſcent, renders its appearance at once delightful and ſuperb; and the harbour is certainly both ſpacious and ſecure. The city is guarded from any ſudden attack, towards the ſea, by forts. There are ſeveral good ſtreets, which turn off at right-angles

where

where part of the late city was deſtroyed by the earthquake, one of which is chiefly compoſed of ſilverſmiths' ſhops; but others, for the moſt part, are very diſagreeable and offenſive, from the continual nuiſances which are thrown into them from the windows. There was little here to excite an inclination to remain; it produced quite a different effect from that which I felt when I was in South America. The Exchange forms a capital ſquare, and the aqueduct, without the town, is deſervedly entitled to admiration. This water-bridge is built of large ſtone, and is, from hill to hill, about 15,000 yards long. The middle arch is ſo high, that, were the river in the valley, I ſuppoſe a line of battle ſhip might ſail through, completely rigged. Sixteen ſmall towers are built upon it, and, from its ſummit, we enjoyed a beautiful proſpect,

The principal part of the inhabitants ſeemed to be devoted to ſuperſtition, and friars of every order compoſe a moſt numerous body of men, who evidently poſſeſs that art and influence which are ſufficient to enable them to retain their poſt. At the corner of ſeveral ſtreets, boxes are placed to receive the liberal donations of the feeling heart, for the deceaſed, who are ſuppoſed to be in purgatory, over which, with the view of penetrating the feelings, is ſuſpended a painting, repreſenting the diſtreſſed ſtate of ſeveral ſuffering Chriſtians, with the flames flying round them, while they are in the act of ſupplicating the beholder for deliverance, by their putting money into the box for maſſes, to be paid for that purpoſe.

Several

Several images in the ſtreet are incloſed and glazed, with lights burning all day and night, to which they bow in paſſing. By ſome a number of relics are placed in a caſe, which are preſerved to record the miracles which are ſaid to have been performed by the ſaints, each of them being a repreſentation of the object on which the miracle was wrought; as a leg, an hand, a finger, tooth, &c. On one ſide of a ſquare, which reminded me of Smithfield, is the moſt holy inquiſition, and in the middle of this building is the ſtatue of Truth. The power of the rulers of this moſt abominable place, is in full force, and eleven Engliſhmen, I was informed, were confined in it, for being free-maſons, one of whom was the huſband of the woman at whoſe houſe I firſt lodged, who told me that ſhe alſo had been committed for having a bible in the houſe, againſt which the law is levelled, and I was told when I landed, that I muſt not bring mine on ſhore, which, however, I did. Their hatred to the ſacred oracles of truth is an evidence to me, that however they profeſs to revere the image, they deteſt it in reality, for if they loved and knew the truth, it would make them free from ſuch enmity to God and his word. In the churches, and chiefly at the front of the building, are many good paintings; and to manifeſt their peculiar piety and attachment to their religion, they have croſſes, images of the Virgin Mary, &c. &c. There is an excellent market, which is welll ſupplied with fruit and fiſh. The grapes are large, and of a fine quality. Horſes, though ſlight, are lively;

lively; but the mules being ſurer footed, are more uſed for carriage and draught. The ladies, however, ſeem to prefer the aſſes to either, as they ride on them thro' the ſtreets, with no ſmall appearance of dignity. The country in general is mountainous, but the mountains are ſaid to contain all kinds of ore, particularly of ſilver, copper, tin, iron, with a variety of gems, &c. &c. but none of the metal mines here are worked, the inhabitants being ſupplied with theſe articles from their foreign ſettlements.

The ſtreets abound with beggars of different deſcriptions, both friars and paupers, who equally make a trade of their crucifixes; and on my beholding them ſo frequently producing the ſame, I have been led to ſuppoſe they were convinced, that by no other part of their conduct would they be known, even to have the leaſt attachment to the name of a chriſtian.

Liſbon hath been much reſorted to of late by valetudinarians and conſumptive perſons from Great Britain, on account of its air. The ſoil is very fruitful in producing oranges, lemons, pomegranates, figs, raiſins, almonds, cheſnuts, and other good fruit, and their meat, though lean, is tolerably good. Almoſt all the water uſed by the inhabitants is ſupplied by means of the aqueduct before noticed, without the town, which conveys the water over the valley of Alcantara, in a channel in the middle, through which the water runs, and there is room enough left for three or four men to walk abreaſt along the architrave, on each ſide the canal, which is vaulted the whole length.

I now proceed to enter upon our re-embarkation from this place for our native ſhore. Moſt of our ſeamen had ſhipped themſelves on board of different ſhips in the harbour; Mrs. Hughes and Mrs. Hill being ill, were compelled to be left with their huſbands, and Captain Robſon to ſettle his accounts, when the remainder waited for the order to go on board of the ſhips, about to ſail for England. Mr. Lyne had advanced the money to our Captain neceſſary for our paſſage, and we who were to embark in the packet, entered into a bond for the payment of the ſame; thus every pecuniary aſſiſtance being given, a paſſage was provided, and we indulged the hope of ſoon ſeeing again the land of our nativity.

Thurſday, October 4th. This afternoon we left the ſhore, and the following was the diſtribution of our embarkation:

On board of the Prince of Wales packet, Captain Todd—the Rev. W. Howell and ſon; Rev. L. Vardy and wife; Rev. P. Leveſque and wife; Rev. W. Gregory, wife and four children; viz. Martha, John, William, Oatheite, and Ebenezer Gerſhom; J. Leveſque and wife; W. Hawkins, wife and daughter; J. Beattie, wife and two children; G. Grieg and wife; S. Turner, T. Fitzgibbons, J. Smith, D. Millar, C. Wilſon, J. Cooper, J. Macdonald, J. Guard, J. Hayward, and J. Youl, miſſionaries; D. Smith, firſt mate, J. Curling, jun. and W. Greenfield, ſeamen.

On board of the Fortitude, to ſail with the fleet—J. Jones, wife and three children; viz. Mary, Sarah, and

and Ruth; C. Benton, S. Broughton, J. Jerrard, G. Parry, J Mitchell, J. Smith, W. Soddy, J. Reid, and W. Waters, miſſionaries, and R. Cann, ſteward; J. Greathead, and J. Webſter, boys.

At four, P. M. the packet weighed anchor, and we left the harbour of Liſbon, paſſed the other ſhip, where our Brethren were; we left them, unmoored, and were ſoon over the bar with a fine breeze. Our ſituation, through ſo many being on board, was rendered rather uncomfortable, but we were not diſturbed with thoſe troubleſome animals, cockroaches and rats, as on our paſſage to Europe; of the firſt, I have thrown overboard, in one night, upwards of ſeventy, which ran about us, and we have laid and kicked the rats from off our bed as they pranced over us. One night they eat entirely the ſleeve and part of the ſide of one of the childrens' frocks, and we found them in general diſagreeable.

Sunday, 6th. We held public worſhip on board; Mr. Howell and I engaged in the ſervice of the day. Saw two ſtrange ſails.

Thurſday, 10th. Early this morning we ſaw a ſtrange ſail, which ſoon bore down and gave us chace, from the manner in which ſhe was worked by the mariners, it was nearly certain ſhe was a French privateer; ſhe continued the purſuit till half paſt one, P. M. but did not gain upon us, when ſhe relinquiſhed the chace, and we purſued our right courſe.

Friday, 11th. Saw another ſtrange ſail, which did not offer to come near, and was ſoon out of ſight.

Saturday, 12th. Wind blew freſh, in the afternoon it was foggy, with rain. At four, P. M. ſuddenly were diſcovered near us three ſtrange ſail, viz. two frigates and a brig; the packet's ſignal was hoiſted, (known by our own men of war) to ſee if they were friends or enemies, when we perceived that they were ſtrangers to the ſign, and omitted to anſwer the ſame; it left it without a doubt to moſt that they were the latter. We had not yet ſeen land, but were eagerly waiting to be indulged with the ſight, expecting the view this night or in the morning, but we were now compelled to keep the ſame courſe as theſe ſtrange ſhips, as if bound from the deſired ſhore. Several fears were now entertained of our ſafety from another captivity, as our ſituation led us to ſuppoſe that we ſhould be carried to France; the wind increaſed and blew violently, the ſea ran high, and the heavens ſeemed to protend a dreadful night, while we continued in the ſame manner till it was dark: after darkneſs had completely ſecured us from their ſight our Captain put about the ſhip, ſhaped his courſe towards the land and eſcaped, when about two hours after the wind and ſea abated, the moon broke thro' the clouds, and we perceived ourſelves out of danger. At eleven o'clock ſaw clearly the Lizard lights, and about four, A. M. on Sunday, October 13th, with pleaſure we came to anchor in Falmouth harbour.

Thus, to the end of our myſterious voyage, we could ſing of mercy and of judgment, and aſcribe glory to the *God of our ſalvation*; from all dangers we were

were preſerved, and *in every trial a way was made for our eſcape*; even darkneſs and the ſtorm proved the means of our protection, and like the Iſraelites in their paſſage through the Red Sea, floods of *waters have been a wall on our right hand and on our left*, while *goodneſs and mercy followed us*, till we were reſtored again to our native ſoil, where, in obedience to the command of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt to the reſtored man, "*Go home to thy friends, and tell them how great things the Lord hath done for thee, and hath had compaſſion on thee.*"

"Now will we tell to ſinners round,
"What a dear Saviour we have found;
"And point to his redeeming blood,
"And ſay, behold the way to God."

Early this morning we landed, and were kindly received by Mr. Macdowall, the Rev. Mr. Wildbore, and the friends at Falmouth: in the forenoon I addreſſed the congregation from that text ſo *viſibly* accompliſhed in our experience, "*He hath done all things well.*" This, in part, we can prove, while he further aſſures us, that "*what we know not now we ſhall know hereafter.*"

The Brethren in the Fortitude ſailed from Liſbon, with the fleet, on Saturday the 5th, ſoon after Mr. and Mrs. Jones were called to the additional trial, by the loſs of their little Ruth, who died on the paſſage. Brother Jones informs me, that "ſhe was ill previous "to their embarkation, but got worſe when they were "at ſea, which increaſed till Monday morning the "7th inſtant, when, about three o'clock, ſhe expired, "being

" being five months and fifteen days old. At two,
" P. M. the Brethren met to improve the event, read
" the word of God, and gave out a hymn, after which
" Brother Jerrard engaged in prayer, when the mortal
" part of the little one was brought upon deck, and
" laid on a ſhutter of the cabin window; all the ſhip's
" company attended with becoming ſolemnity, ano-
" ther hymn was given out, and the body removed to
" the gang-way, where a bag of ſand and ſtones were
" tied to her little feet for the purpoſe of ſinking her,
" Brother Jones then prayed, and at theſe words,
" *Now great God we commit the mortal part of our little*
" *one to the great deep:*" a Brother let down the board,
" and bid adieu to the remains of the infant Ruth."

The ſhips which we eſcaped in conſequence of the gale fell in with the fleet, and captured ſeveral. The Impregnable, which convoyed them, was drove on ſhore by the wind and loſt; the Fortitude, however, with others, eſcaped, and all the Brethren landed in ſafety.

Mrs. Hill, who recovered from her indiſpoſition, left Liſbon, with Mr. Hill and Captain Robſon, on the 12th of October, and arrived ſafely in London on the 12th of November.

Mrs. Hughes, who was left alſo at Liſbon, died on Sunday the 27th of October, and was interred in the proteſtant burial-ground at that place. Mr. Hughes ſailed from Liſbon in the Navigator brig, bound to London, on the 21ſt of November, was captured by a French privateer, on the 5th of December; on the

15th

15th inſtant was re-captured by a Guernſey cutter, and on the 21ſt of January arrived in ſafety at Plymouth; Mr. Hughes was the laſt of us who embarked in the ſecond Miſſion, and were reſtored back again to our native land, to confeſs that *the judgments of the Almighty are a great deep, his ways are in the ſea, his paths in the great waters, and his footſteps not (fully) known: the living to praiſe the Lord for his goodneſs, and for his wonderful works, to the children of men.*

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

THE following lines, as the fragment of a captive Miſſionary, are, after many ſtruggles with my own feelings, ſubmitted to thoſe to whom alone I expect they will prove acceptable, who feel experimentally the truth of that ſcripture, "*When one member ſuffereth, all ſuffer with it*," and who "*weep with thoſe who weep, and rejoice with thoſe who rejoice.*" To ſuch I indulge the hope, that I need only ſay, they were written when and where I ſcarce entertained the thought of their reaching my native ſhore, a priſoner in a ſtate of trial in the Southern Hemiſphere; but, at the requeſt of many, who, from my arrival, have deſired, both by word and letter, I conſent to their appearing in public, while I confeſs that many glaring imperfections will be found by the eye of criticiſm, and that they cannot be ſonorous to the poetic ear. To gratify ſome friends they are printed; others, I hope, will not be offended, and enemies to Miſſionary efforts have no ground to triumph in our calamity, for granting that we have done little, "*The Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad.*"

LINES

LINES,

Written on reviewing my Journal, after the Capture of the Duff, by Le Grand Buonaparte, off Cape Frio, from Deut. viii. 2. 3.

2. "*And thou ſhalt remember all the way which the Lord thy God led thee theſe forty years in the wilderneſs, to humble thee, and to prove thee, to know what was in thine heart, whether thou wouldeſt keep his commandments, or no.*"

3. "*And he humbled thee, and ſuffered thee to hunger, and fed thee with manna, which thou kneweſt not, neither did thy fathers know; that he might make thee know that man doth not live by bread only, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of the Lord doth man live.*" (Vide Page 32.)

MY ſoul in contemplation ſtands,
To view the wonders of thy hands:
While I attempt thy way to trace,
Thy works of providence and grace.
When I review thy way, O Lord!
Which ſtands recorded in thy word—
How thou haſt led to make appear,
Thy grace and pow'r to ſouls ſincere—
Fain would I ſtrive to recollect,
And on thy footſteps, Lord, reflect:
(Thoſe ſteps which thou haſt trod with me,
Thro' all the dangers of the ſea.)
In vain I ſtretch my feeble pow'r,
To trace thy hand in ev'ry hour,
Which has, in thouſand dangers, been
In my behalf, moſt clearly ſeen:
That hands which fram'd me at the firſt,
And ſtill ſupports this feeble duſt.—

God ſent his word to diſtant iſles,
That heathens might enjoy his ſmiles.—
For this—ſo glorious an intent,
To Southern Iſles our Duff * was ſent—
For this, we left, December laſt,
Our native ſhore, and ſeas o'erpaſt.—
But, O the wonders of the Lord!
Unſearchable, I read his word!
His judgments ever will be ſeen,
Paſt finding out, by ſons of men!—
When Britain's ſhores we did forſake,
In union on our quarter-deck,
We join'd to ſing—" At thy command
" We launch—and leave our native land."—
Soon did we feel God's mighty pow'r,
Which prov'd to us a trying hour:
" Deep unto deep aloud did call,"
Waves after waves tumultuous roll.—
The raging billows roſe ſo high,
They taught us to our God to fly:—
He charg'd the flood not to prevail,
Nor left one trembling heart to fail.—
" Peace!"—ſaid the Saviour—" I am near—
" Altho' expos'd to ev'ry ſnare,
" Lo! I am with you—I'll defend—
" I am your help till time ſhall end."—
The ſtorm allay'd—our fears diſperſe,
And we aſſemble to rehearſe,
With praiſes new, the mighty pow'r,
Reveal'd to us in that dark hour.

* The name of the Miſſionary Ship.

Lord!

Lord!—I remember and record,
Thy faithfulneſs to thine own word!
And pray that this may be impreſt
For ever, deeply, on my breaſt!
(Salvation wrought doth not protect,
The ſpirits bleſs'd with its effect,
From tribulation and diſtreſs,
While they are in the wilderneſs.)
" To humble and to prove,—God ſays,
" I'll lead them by myſterious ways,
" And clearly ſhew that none can live
" Without the bleſſing I will give."
Soon were we taught that trials paſt,
Were not to be with us the laſt:
Freſh dangers round began to ſpread,
But yet thy ſhield did guard each head.
Our temp'ral convoy being gone,
Strange ſhips appear'd as we ſail'd on:
When one ſev'n hours did give us chace—
Then were we taught to ſeek thy face.
Again thy promiſe is fulfill'd,
Thy pow'r and grace again reveal'd:
That pow'r and grace we muſt confeſs,
Deliver'd us from our diſtreſs.
Again the pleaſant iſles regale,
And cheer the eye as on we ſail:
Yea, every week, and every day,
New wonders on the deep diſplay.
Day unto day brings ſome new ſcene,
Superior to the works of men;
The ſhining orbs, the burning ſun,
Proclaim the wonders God hath done.

The heav'ns declare thy glory, Lord,
The mighty deep fulfils thy word,
Whilſt we thy children learn to trace,
The wonders of redeeming grace.
Thro' dangers ſeen, we have been brought,
To ſee the wonders thou haſt wrought:
And unſeen dangers thou could'ſt pry
With thine omniſcient, piercing eye.
The Cape St. Roque can witneſs bear
To thine almighty loving care:
When we beheld the Southern Coaſt,
Thy guardian care was *there* our boaſt.
Beneath the mighty deep unſeen,
By *ſhoals* for many leagues we'd been:
At break of day our eyes explore,
The perils of the ſandy ſhore.
Strong currents, and the boiſt'rous main,
Conſpire to force us back again:
And here detain'd for many days,
We pray—God hears—and God we praiſe.
This way did humble us, and prove
Our faith, our confidence, and love:
Lord, ſearch our hearts—do thou appear,
And let us ſee our duty clear!
Soon did each heart glow with delight,
Cape Frio now appears in ſight:
We then our ſtrength hop'd to renew,
And glorify our God anew.
A calm is not the ſafeſt hour,
That ſouls experience from thy pow'r,
As this day ſhew'd—it prov'd to be
The day of our captivity!

This

This day will be remember'd long,
Recorded by the plaintive tongue:
No danger ſeen—no danger fear'd—
No altar for our pray'rs was rear'd!
The morn diſplay'd a pleaſant ſcene,
No boiſt'rous wind—the waves ſerene—
The ev'ning clos'd this ſolemn day,
Our capture by the enemy!
Thy ways of providence, O Lord,
Are more than I can now record;
Yet at thoſe ways I wond'ring look,
While I peruſe thy ſacred book.
I bleſs thy name I *can* record,
Thy faithfulneſs to thine own word:
And Iſr'el never could complain,
That they e'er ſought thy face in vain.

LINES,

Written on board of the Prize Brig, where the Author was placed alone, with 180 naked Negroes, on Sunday, March 3d, 1799. (Vide Page 47.)

O Gracious God, do thou look down,
On me thy duſt, now left alone,
To thee I lift my heart, my hands,
Now bound to foreign hoſtile lands.
By Bab'lon's waters here I ſet,
By her own ſons a pris'ner kept;
No harp—no lute—can here be found,
To tune thy praiſe in ſolemn ſound.
'Tis with a mournful pleaſure now,
I ſupplicate thy face, and bow,

And

And think on days in Britain ſpent,
Or in the Duff to Jeſus lent!
That ſacred ſhip, where pray'r and praiſe,
Thy little flock did daily raiſe,
To give thee glory for thy grace,
And ſupplicate thy ſmiling face.
Our children round her maſts did play,
And paſs'd their childiſh hours away:
Did liſp with joy when praiſe begun,
And ſtrove to join in Zion's ſong.
Alas! no more thy Saints partake,
Thy mercies on that favour'd deck,
Our ſeats of worſhip now are broke,
And captors to their enſigns look.
Our deareſt part'ners from our breaſt,
Our children from our arms they wreſt,
As captives lead to diſtant ſhore,
Fearing they ne'er ſhould ſee us more!
O God of grace, be to the end,
Their huſband, father, and their friend!
Check all their foes, and ev'ry fear,
From ev'ry face wipe ev'ry tear.
HANNAH, my ſpouſe, I bleed for you,
My Siſter JONES, I feel for too,
Your times of Nature's ſorrow nigh,
And enemies are ſtanding by!
My children, peaceful may *you* reſt,
While ſorrows fill *my* anxious breaſt!
MARTHA, and JOHN, and OTAHEITE,
Diſtreſs my day,—diſturb my night!
My Brethren in the Buonaparte,
Your ſorrows too lie near my heart.

With

With you I'll cry to God most high,
"O turn again CAPTIVITY!"
My Sisters dear left in the DUFF,
Your troubles surely are enough,
To bring your feeble frames to dust:
For *your* afflictions grieve I must!
Ready I am with you to cry—
"Was ever sorrow brought so nigh?"
All ye that pass, but never see
Anguish of soul, now think on me!
Ye relatives, we've left behind,
Fathers, and mothers, brethren kind,
Will ye not pray that we once more,
May meet upon our native shore?
Did *ye* but know, ye men of God,
This heavy stroke, this chast'ning rod,—
Did *ye* but know, who sent us forth,
How would ye weep from south to north!
Zion's assemblies soon would spread,
Sackcloth and ashes on their head,
And sorrowing weep a flood of tears,
Till hope prevailed above their fears!
What troubles do our souls endure,
While sinners and their cannons roar!
And we're forbidden to proclaim,
The glories of EMANUEL'S name!
My heart in silence pants for thee,
To thee I would for succour flee,
Parted from part'ner, friend, and all,
To thee, my all in all, I call!—
How glad should I be now, to hear
The Brethren say—"Come join in pray'r,
"To Zion let us off'rings bring,
"The Lord our God is sovereign King!"

O God

O God of my ſalvation, hear,
A ſinner's groanings mix'd with pray'r,
Let not thy love forget to look
On ſouls that mourn beneath thy ſtroke.
To MONTE VIDEO now we go,
Where, what's thy will I do not know.
In ſpirit bound, like PAUL, I go,
To ſuffer all thy will below.—
Oh! in this Mount may it be ſeen,
How Iſr'el's God can intervene:
That ſouls depending on his word,
Are by his ſov'reign grace reſtor'd.
Look on us, Lord, and deign to ſmile,
On each benighted Southern Iſle:
That heathens may thy glory ſee
And own SALVATION is of *thee!*

Written on the Baptiſm of my Son, EBENEZER GERSHOM, and Circumſtances attending the ſame, on Sunday, April 14th, 1799, in Paraguay; (vide page 139) chiefly ſelected from the following Portions of Scripture:

Num. xxiii. 23. "*According to this time it ſhall be ſaid of Jacob "and of Iſrael,* WHAT HATH GOD WROUGHT!"

Exod. ii. 22. "*And ſhe bare him a ſon, and he called his name "*GERSHOM, *for he ſaid I have been a ſtranger in a ſtrange land.*"

1 Sam. vii. 12. "*Then Samuel took a ſtone, and ſet it between "Miſpeh and Shen, and called the name of it* EBENEZER, "*ſaying, hitherto hath the Lord helped us.*"

WITH all my pow'rs may I make known,
The mercies of my God now ſhewn,
And to his name give glory due,
Till endleſs years his praiſe renew.

This

This day I ſtrive to raiſe my voice,
And in his potent arm rejoice;
While I ſelect my every thought,
To ſpeak the wonders *God hath wrought.*
The tribes of Iſrael in that hour,
God wrought ſalvation by his power:
Twelve ſtones rear'd up to make appear,
Deliverance was for them *wrought* there.
Samuel in Miſpeh took a ſtone,
When he ſurvey'd what *God had done:*
His EBENEZER rear'd on high
The monument of victory.
Moſes, when brought to a ſtrange land,
A child receiv'd from God's kind hand;
When to proclaim what God had done,
The little ſtranger named GERSHOM,
Declar'd an Alien he had been,
In lands by Iſrael's race not ſeen.
Yet even there he ſtood to prove
JEHOVAH's faithfulneſs and love.
Now let me try to prove the ſame,
On diſtant ſhores proclaim his name;
Which through the deep hath ſcreen'd my head,
And hitherto my footſteps lead.
Tho' bound to Southern Iſles, I'm brought
A priſoner to a Spaniſh port:
This Continent for to behold,
Where Goſpel truths were never told;
But Satan as a ſovereign reigns,
And binds her ſons in heavy chains
Of darkneſs, ſuperſtition, pride,
Without one true enlighten'd guide.
Yet Jeſus, my all-conquering King,
Whoſe victories may I ever ſing,

Doth here his mighty arm unfold,
The trophies of his conquests told.
What hath God wrought may I now say,
While I survey this sight to day;
And see my Brethren round me join,
To sing the praise of love divine.
What hath God wrought may Zion say,
To bring us here on this [illegible] day;
An EBENEZER for to raise.
And give our glorious Victor praise.
What hath God wrought again I say,
To bring these strangers here to-day.
Six different nations, tongues diverse,
Who witness what we now rehearse.
Each view with wonder and record,
An ordinance received from God;
In South America dispens'd,
Through a peculiar providence.
What hath God wrought, that I should see,
This favor shew'd to such as me;
That *Ebenezer* should be first,
Of many myriads on this coast.
The little stranger now enjoys
This ordinance by Gospel laws;
When I to tell what God hath done,
Name him EBENEZER GERHSOM.
Abundant cause have I to raise
My EBENEZER to God's praise;
May little GERSHOM loud proclaim,
The value of a Saviour's name.
Surrounded by a hostile band,
Who brought us captives to this land;
I stand a witness of that word,
"I'll never leave thee saith the Lord."

With

With admiration they now ſee,
A ſtrange aſſembly worſhip thee.
Thou Sovereign of the Univerſe,
May they with me thy fame rehearſe.
Tho' priſoners, in this ſolemn hour
The Lord diſplays his ſovereign power.
Lord, *who am I*, that mine ſhould be,
Bleſt with ſuch love and care from thee?
Amaz'd, I view thy hand, that we
From ſtrangers ſhould ſuch kindneſs ſee;
Our every want they do ſupply,
And ſanguine wiſhes gratify.
Come, Brethren, join with me a'oud,
To praiſe the goodneſs of the Lord;
United let us be to bleſs,
The *Lord our refuge* in diſtreſs.
We each can EBENEZER raiſe
A grateful ſong of ſolemn praiſe:
Our GOD hath looſed our heavy band,
And mercy ſhewn in a ſtrange land.

LINES,

Written on board of the MEDUZA, on a Senſe of God's Protection, on the ſtormy Night, Tueſday, Auguſt 20th, 1799, incloſed in a Letter to the Author. (Vide Page 257.)

BE ſtill, my ſoul, call home each ſerious thought,
Baniſh each care, and ſet the world at nought;
Amaz'd, behold! with admiration trace!
God's mighty hand upon the trackleſs ſpace:
Myſterious oft, with ſtaggering faith we view,
His wond'rous works—ſtill they are juſt and true.
Tho' clouds and darkneſs may his throne ſurround,
Judgment and truth are there for ever found.

Tho' raging ſeas may terrify the ſoul,
E'en raging ſeas are under his controul.
Tho' vivid light'ning in its forked track,
With dreadful claps of thunder at its back,
Alarm the minds of thoſe who've cauſe to fear,
Adore, my ſoul, thy God that's ever near:
'Tis he commiſſions water, wind, and fire,
Averſe alone to th' objects of his ire;
But to his own he grants their hearts deſire:
His ſmall ſtill voice their raviſh'd ear ſhall charm,
Whilſt ſoft he whiſpers nought ſhall do thee harm:
I will ſupport thee even to the end,
I am thy God, thy Saviour, and thy friend.
Come, then, thou dear Redeemer of my ſoul,
Poſſeſs my heart entire, yea take the whole;
Be ev'ry dreg of ſelfiſhneſs eras'd,
And in its room thy bleſſed image plac'd.
With characters indelible impreſs,
The deepeſt ſenſe of genuine thankfulneſs;
So ſhall my every faculty enjoy,
Its higheſt bliſs in ſuch a ſweet employ;
Till death ſhall waft me to thy bleſt abode:
There ſhall I be eternally with God.
Prepare me, Lord, for that eternal home,
Then when thou wilt, dear bleſſed Jeſus come.
Yea, come Lord Jeſus, come quickly. Amen.

FINIS.

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ERRATA.

Page 4, laſt line, for *maſt* read *maſts.*
7, line 5, for *agreeably* read *agreeable.*
14, — 4, for *Mr. Howe* read *Mr. Howell.*
56, — 7, for *one of thoſe* read *ſome of thoſe*, and *for ſhall dwell in* read *will long dwell in.*
ib. — 26, omit the word *yet* before *in.*
64, — 19, for *turnings* read *awnings.*
ib. 24 and 25, omit *the French turned upſide, &c. &c.*
192, — 17, for *wails* read *wells.*
198, — 29, for *was* read *were.*
204, — 1, for *among who* read *among thoſe who.*
235, — 27, for *not* read *nor.*
241, — 10, for *Mrs. Smith* read *Mr. Smith.*
283, — 3, for the *former* read the *latter.*
288, — 24, omit *and chiefly at the front of the building.*

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